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ABSTRACT

These materials are designed to be used in a one-semester curriculum program which is linked to topics outlined in the American Issues Forum calendar. It is intended for use at the local level. Volume II, The Molding of American Values, concentrates on the ways in which American values and assumptions about national character can be tested by a people's activities. The course seeks to develop new understandings of the problems and realities of contemporary America. It examines phases of America at work and at leisure, the nation's self-conceived role in the international scene, and the social institutions which have directed and shaped American character. The community leader's source book contains resources related to each topic suitable for discussions, books to review, and an annotated film list. It is arranged according to topics as presented on the calendar from January 11 to May 29, 1976. The newspaper packet, divided into four units corresponding with the student reader and the study guide, includes 18 1,400-word articles with appropriate illustrations and biographies. Examination questions offer objective midterm and final tests for classroom use. These materials can be used in conjunction with the corresponding reader and study guide. (Author/ND)

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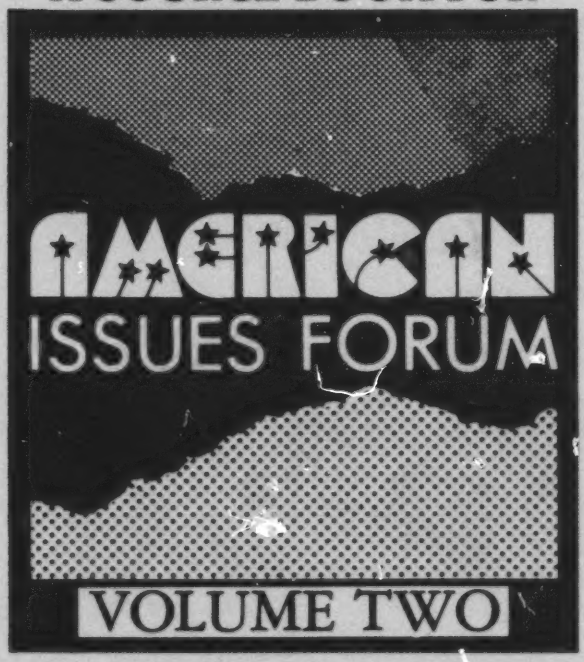

COMMUNITY LEADER'S GUIDE:

A Project of Courses by Newspaper
University Extension, University of California, San Diego
Funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities

SP 009637

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Del Mar, California

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PREFACE

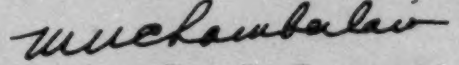
As a person concerned about America's future, I'm certain that you will join with me in celebrating the success of the American Issues Forum. Since September, this thoughtful bicentennial program has focused the attention of millions of Americans on the fundamental issues that form the fabric of the American experience. People from all walks of life have come together to discuss and debate such American Issues Forum topics as civil rights, land use, and government.

Developed under the auspices of the National Endowment for the Humanities and co-sponsored by the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration, the American Issues Forum has provided as its format for this timely debate a calendar of issues that spans the bicentennial year. Beginning in January 1976, this calendar will spark grass-roots discussions on the five remaining Forum topics—work, foreign relations, business, lifestyles and culture. From these discussions, it is hoped, will emerge goals for millions of Americans as the nation enters its third century.

Courses by Newspaper, which begins its second bicentennial course linked to Forum topics in January, has prepared both volumes of this guide to help enrich group discussions of Forum topics. In this volume, you will find resources and program suggestions that incorporate materials developed by Courses by Newspaper as well as other organizations participating in the Forum. With this book, you can plan meaningful, multi-faceted programs on any of the twenty weekly Forum topics scheduled for discussion in 1976.

One hundred years ago, America celebrated its centennial in a spectacular and flamboyant national exhibition that typified the over-confidence of a youthful country. Now, one hundred years later, although our confidence has been dampened by time and events, our hopes for ourselves as a nation and for the world have not dimmed. And it is these hopes, hopes that form the "American Dream," that inspire our present bicentennial commemoration. It is my wish that from the Forum we as a people will find renewed strength in our dedication to making these hopes, these dreams, a reality for all Americans long before 2076.

Martin N. Chamberlain



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SECTION I
COURSES BY NEWSPAPER: A CATALYST FOR GROUP PARTICIPATION IN THE AMERICAN ISSUES FORUM

"I know of no way of judging the future but by the past."
– Patrick Henry

What is the American Issues Forum?

The American Issues Forum, a national program for the commemoration of the United States bicentennial, is designed to be the catalyst for a serious national debate, a meaningful dialogue, on America as a nation and as a people. All Americans are urged to come together in an exploration of issues fundamental to the past, present and future of American society. Issues like work. Government. Human rights. Land use. Foreign relations. From this debate, it is hoped, will emerge an understanding of the American experience.

The invitation to participate in the American Issues Forum has been extended to every individual American and to organizations and institutions, both large and small, throughout the country. Groups of every kind—television, radio and the press; libraries, schools and colleges; churches and synagogues; labor and professional organizations; corporations and foundations; service clubs and discussion groups; communities, neighborhoods and families—are using the Forum as a framework for their bicentennial programs.

How does the American Issues Forum work?

The framework for the American Issues Forum is a calendar of nine monthly topics, beginning September 1975 and continuing through May 1976. Optional weekly approaches to each of the nine issues also are suggested.

Beyond the calendar topics, the design of the Forum is up to the participants. Individual groups are encouraged to explore those facets of the topics that seem most relevant to their particular concerns. Questions can be reformulated and discussions enriched to give each topic the attention it deserves.

The primary goal of the Forum, however, is to spark a nationwide discussion of issues that are of fundamental importance to all Americans. To achieve this goal it is useful that all participants agree to address the same general issues at the same time.

Can I get a copy of the American Issues Forum Calendar?

If you have not already received your American Issues Forum Calendar or if you want additional copies, a softcover version of the calendar printed by the Government Printing Office is available by writing American Issues Forum Calendar #036-000-00027-9, Public Documents Distribution Center, 5801 Tabor Road, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19120. There is a charge of $1.40 per copy.

The Public's Calendar, a summary version of the Forum Calendar, outlining monthly and weekly topics and including a month-by-month text, appeared in the August/September 1975 issues of *Time, Ladies Home Journal, Ebony, National Geographic, Reader's Digest* and *Scholastic Magazine.* This version of the calendar was sponsored by Exxon Corporation and represents its contribution to the American Issues Forum. For sample copies of the Public's Calendar, write American Issues Forum, National Endowment for the Humanities, Washington, D.C. 20506.

A Spanish version of the entire calendar "Foro Sobre Temas De Norteamericanos" has been prepared by the Adult Education Association. Copies are available by writing American Issues Forum, National Endowment for the Humanities, Washington, D.C. 20506.

How can I introduce my group to the American Issues Forum?

A 20-minute, color film documentary, especially designed to introduce interested community organizations and groups to the Forum, has been produced by Screen News Digest/Hearst Metrotone News. This film presents the origins, purpose and methods of implementation of the Forum. A Summary Calendar/Discussion Guide in brochure form is also available for use with the film.

Community groups may obtain copies of the film and brochure for use free of charge in their programs from State Humanities Committees, most State Bicentennial Commissions, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and regional offices of the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration. The film also may be rented on a one-week basis for a $25 fee or purchased at a cost of $275. Rental information is available from Encyclopaedia Britannica Educational Corporation, 425 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60611. Those who wish to purchase the film should contact Martin Kendrick, Director, The Screen News Digest, 235 East 45th Street, New York, NY 10017.

COURSES BY NEWSPAPER: A Catalyst for Group Participation in American Issues Forum

What is Courses by Newspaper?

Courses by Newspaper is a successful experiment in continuing education. For the past three years, Courses by Newspaper has offered college courses for credit with the help of participating newspapers and colleges or universities across the country. Thousands of Americans have earned valuable college credit, while millions of others, by reading the newspaper articles in their local papers, have used Courses by Newspaper to broaden their horizons or refresh their knowledge.

Since its origination by University Extension, University of California, San Diego, Courses by Newspaper has appeared in more than 400 newspapers across the nation and has been offered for credit by more than 250 colleges and universities.

How does Courses by Newspaper work?

Courses by Newspaper is offered through the cooperation of newspapers and colleges or universities. Each week the newspaper prints articles that are required reading for students enrolled in the course at a participating college or university. At least twice during each 18-week course, students meet in contact sessions with an instructor at their local participating educational institution. When the course is offered for credit, the local college or university determines the number of credits and the requirements for earning those credits.

How is Courses by Newspaper related to the American Issues Forum?

For the Bicentennial year, 1975-76, Courses by Newspaper linked its course articles to the American Issues Forum topics. Since September 1975, an 18-week series of thought-provoking articles written by six prominent scholar-writers has appeared in more than 400 newspapers throughout the country. Thousands of readers have enrolled in this course for credit at the 250 participating colleges and universities.

Beginning in January 1976, a second 18-week series will begin appearing in local newspapers. Below is an outline of Courses by Newspaper's second Bicentennial course, American Issues Forum II: The Molding of American Values.

Article 1 – Introduction: The Revolution Enshrined

Allen Weinstein–a professor of history and director of the American Studies Program at Smith College who coordinated the Voice of America's Bicentennial series "America in Crisis."

THE DYNAMICS OF WORK

Article 2 – The Changing Face of Labor
Article 3 – The Changing Labor Force
Article 4 – The Work Ethic
Article 5 – Beyond Work: Problems for the Future

Robert Heilbroner–the Norman Thomas Professor of Economics at the New School for Social Research who has authored the classic economics study *The Worldly Philosophers*, now published in 20 languages.

"THE BUSINESS OF AMERICA"

Article 6 – Private Enterprise as an American Way of Life
Article 7 – The American Mixed Economy
Article 8 – Selling the Consumer: Advertising and the Shaping of American Beliefs
Article 9 – Limits to Growth: What Lies Ahead

Paul Samuelson–a Nobel Prize-winning economist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology who writes a column for *Newsweek* magazine.

AMERICA IN THE WORLD

Article 10 – "We Shall Run the World's Business"
Article 11 – Insecurity: An American Tradition
Article 12 – Americans as Anti-Revolutionaries
Article 13 – Presidents, Foreign Policy and the Only Law of History

Walter LaFeber–a Cornell University professor of history who has authored several penetrating studies of American diplomacy.

THE SHAPING OF AMERICAN CHARACTER AND VALUES

Article 14 – The Private Matrix: Family and Church
Article 15 – Socializing Americans: School and Community
Article 16 – Popular Culture as a Reflection of American Character
Article 17 – The Survival of Individualism in a Mass Society

Neil Harris–a history professor at the University of Chicago who has written about America's social and cultural history, including a book on the artist in American society.

Article 18 – Conclusion: American Values – Permanence and Change

Daniel Aaron–the Victor Thomas Professor of American Literature and Language at Harvard University who has authored widely acclaimed studies of writers of the Civil War and Depression–and Allen Weinstein.

Are there supplementary materials for both Courses by Newspaper series?

A selection of lively and thought-provoking readings that correspond to the topics of the American Issues Forum have been brought together in *American Issues Forum: A Courses by Newspaper Reader*, Volumes I and II. Both books contain personal narratives, fictional pieces, critical essays, poems, documents and excerpts from major American literary classics. Edited by Daniel Aaron, the Victor Thomas Professor of American Literature and Language at Harvard University and coordinator of Courses by Newspaper's Bicentennial program, the books examine some of the key issues affecting the development and evolution of American ideas, institutions and values.

Companion study guides, *American Issues Forum Study Guide*, Volumes I and II, containing essays that correspond to the newspaper and reader articles, bibliographies, a summary of key concepts and suggested discussion questions, are also available.

Both readers and their accompanying study guides can be ordered by completing and returning the coupon in the back of this book.

How can I find out if Courses by Newspaper is available in my area?

A list of participating newspapers and colleges is available from Courses by Newspaper, University of California Extension, 4901 Morena Boulevard, Suite 209, San Diego, California 92117.

How do I use Courses by Newspaper in my group's American Issues Forum programs?

Courses by Newspaper can be the catalyst for your group's discussions of the American Issues Forum topics.

In preparation for your group discussions, members can be asked to read the Courses by Newspaper articles at home and to prepare a list of questions or thoughts to bring to the next meeting. These concise articles provide historical perspectives on the issues under consideration; they explore current thinking and opinions on several facets of each issue; and, finally, they raise questions about assumptions, traditions, interpretations, and proposals for the future.

For additional perspectives and points of view, Volume I and II of *American Issues Forum: A Courses by Newspaper Reader* are excellent sources. Either the entire group can read the relevant selections or one or more members can be asked to read and then summarize them for the rest of the group at your meetings.

Both the newspaper articles and the readings can serve as "take off" points for group discussions during your meetings. When confronting a new issue, you might want to follow a standard procedure: First, consider the historical evolution of the issue; then, react to current thinking on the topic; challenge individual assumptions; and conclude the discussion by attempting to reach a consensus among your members on a future course.

Consider making tape recordings of these discussions as part of an oral history of your organization's activities. In addition to someday being of historical value to your group, these recordings could also become the basis for future programs. Several years from now, in fact, it might be interesting to see how the passage of time has changed or failed to change your group's points of view on various issues.

As the discussion leader, what can I do to enrich these sessions?

Throughout the discussion, refer to the Courses by Newspaper articles and readings. Read aloud passages that will put the discussion in perspective, introduce a new angle, or raise new questions. In planning your group's discussion sessions, take advantage of Volumes I and II of *American Issues Forum Study Guide.* Included in it are additional points of view on American Issues Forum topics, a comprehensive bibliography of topic-related books and suggested discussion questions. (Additional discussion questions can be found in Section II of this book.)

A number of organizations are preparing materials related to American Issues Forum topics that would be suitable as handouts. Materials dealing with the topic to be discussed at the next meeting can be mailed to members along with the meeting announcement or as part of the group newsletter a week or so prior to the actual meeting date. Or they can be distributed to members at the meeting. (Information about these materials and how to obtain them can be found in Section III of this book.)

Articles in popular periodicals on American Issues Forum topics can also be used to enrich group discussions. Included in Section II of this book is a list of magazine articles related to American Issues Forum topics that can generally be found in most public libraries. Copies of these articles can be mailed or distributed at meetings; or they can be reviewed by one or more members in advance of meetings and used to facilitate group discussions.

How can the college or university participating in Courses by Newspaper help?

Your local, participating college or university can provide a wealth of resources that will be useful in planning your American Issues Forum programs. In conjunction with the American Issues Forum and Courses by Newspaper's Bicentennial program, many educational institutions are sponsoring films and/or lecture series on Forum topics; some are offering special sessions of the Courses by Newspaper class for community groups; and others are scheduling open community debates on the issues raised in the Courses by Newspaper articles.

Members of your group who want to broaden their understanding of American Issues Forum topics might enroll at a local college or university in the Courses by Newspaper program, *American Issues Forum II: The Molding of American Values,* either for credit or non-credit. They might also be encouraged to attend American Issues Forum-related events on campus. As an additional facet of your group's participation in Courses by Newspaper and the American Issues Forum, your group may want to co-sponsor (with a local educational institution) a related event, such as a film or lecture series or a "town-gown" debate.

Your local college or university is also an excellent source of guest speakers, resource persons and discussion leaders. The course instructor or the local continuing education or extension office usually can help you locate the person you are seeking.

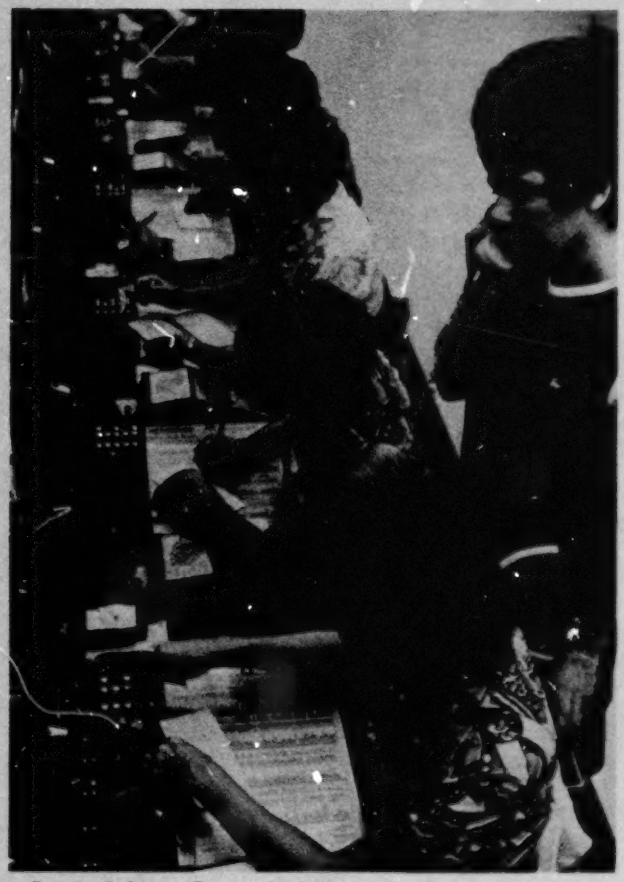
What if Courses by Newspaper is not available in my area?

It is still possible to use Courses by Newspaper in your group discussions. Consider subscribing for a few months to a nearby paper that will be carrying the series of articles or request reprints of the articles from a participating paper. It is also possible to order reprints in booklet form by completing and returning the coupon in the back of this book.

If for some reason you cannot obtain the course articles, *American Issues Forum: A Courses by Newspaper Reader,* Volumes I and II, and *American Issues Forum Study Guide,* Volumes I and II, will still be invaluable sources of information about the American Issues Forum topics.

Even though your local college or university may not be participating in Courses by Newspaper, do not hesitate to use campus resources in your program planning. If you are unfamiliar with the instructions or staff, the office of public information generally will be able to assist you.

SECTION II
RESOURCES FOR AMERICAN ISSUES FORUM PROGRAMS



A Growing Industry: Communications

Because of their richness—and sometimes controversial nature—each of the Forum topics inevitably suggests an abundance of program ideas; thus, it has been impossible to provide more than a sampling of these ideas in the following pages. It should also be noted that none of the program suggestions included in this book is meant to reflect or condone any one point of view; rather they are designed to provide a framework, or a point of departure, for group discussions and debates. Individual community leaders are strongly encouraged to adapt or modify these suggestions to suit the interests and concerns of his or her particular group.

Suggestions presented for each weekly topic include ideas for films, speakers, debates, surveys, and panel discussions. Also suggested are books to review, articles to read in *American Issues Forum: A Courses by Newspaper Reader,* Vol. II, and in popular periodicals, and discussion questions. (Information about how to obtain the suggested audio-visual resources can be found in Section IV.)

WORKING IN AMERICA

America is a workplace—and Americans may well be the hardest working people on earth. To settle an untamed land, to turn it into an independent nation, to push its borders across a continent, to build cities and factories and farms where there had been only wilderness, to establish the most prosperous nation in the world—all that took incredibly hard work, some of it slavery and exploitation. What is the meaing of the American "work ethic"? How does our work affect our lives, and how has it affected the nation? The opportunity to succeed drew millions to America, and many saw hard work simply as the way to seize that opportunity. Yet increasingly the aim of free labor in America has been to gain more advantages and more productivity for less and less toil. At the beginning of the Republic men were closely tied to the end result of their work, but today, we often do not even see the end result. Do we take less pride in our work because of this? Naturally, we're concerned with what we earn. But are we, at the same time, concerned with what we do, or how well we do it? How have we divided up the fruits of our labor? What do we do with all the hours when we're not working? What becomes of us when we are unable to work? Or when we retire? How have we tried to make possible a life which is both productive and leisured?

—from the American Issues Forum Calendar of Topics

THE AMERICAN WORK ETHIC
January 11 to January 17

"I never did anything worth doing by accident, nor did any of my inventions come by accident; they came by work."

—Thomas Alva Edison

Background

From American Issues Forum: A Courses by Newspaper Reader, Vol. II.

"The Rhythms of Agriculture." Two historians of American agriculture describe the experiences of small pioneer farmers during the eighteenth century.

"On His Back the Burden of the World." Poet Edwin Markham describes the brutal labor of America's farmers.

"It's More a Business Now." A contemporary American farmer tells interviewer Studs Terkel how industrialization, technological change, and urbanization have radically altered the nature of farming.

The Immigrant and the Work Ethic in Industrial America. Labor historian Herbert Gutman examines the distinctive attitudes held by immigrants toward work.

From Popular Periodicals

Are you a "workaholic"? Symptoms and treatments are described by Dr. Saul M. Siegal, a professor of

psychiatry, in an article titled "If You Think You're Working Too Hard" in the July 29, 1974 issue of *U.S. News & World Report* (pp. 31–34).

Work continues to dominate the lives of people who have the time and money to enjoy leisure, according to professor of sociology Rolf Meyersohn in "Is There Life After Work?" in the May 4, 1974 issue of *Saturday Review/World* (pp. 14–16).

Philosopher Eric Hoffer explores the attitudes of today's workers toward work in "What We Have Lost" in the October 20, 1974 issue of *The New York Times Magazine* (pp. 110+).

Books to Review

Selections from the bibliography in American Issues Forum Study Guide, Vol. II.

The Protestant Ethic by Max Weber. In this influential book, Weber suggests there is a deep-rooted connection between the rise of Calvinism and the development of the capitalist spirit.

Work and Its Discontents by Daniel Bell. A leading American sociologist probes the problem of work and alienation.

Selections from the American Library Association Bicentennial Reading List.

Working by Studs Terkel. Interviews with workers in many different fields reveal a growing dissatisfaction with the traditional work ethic. Although a few genuinely enjoy their jobs, many feel powerlessness and despair, and are convinced that work should be a more significant part of life.

Babbitt by Sinclair Lewis. George Babbitt, realtor and hero of Lewis's 1922 novel, prides himself on being a regular guy, takes his opinions from editorials in the local newspaper, and relentlessly pursues his dream of success. Ultimately he realizes the futility of it all: "I've never done a single thing I've wanted to in my whole life."

Suggested Discussion Questions

Is the "work ethic" a motivating force in today's society? If so, how does today's "work ethic" compare with the "work ethic" of early America? If not, what caused its demise as a social influence?

Although working conditions have vastly improved since colonial times, great dissatisfaction and disillusionment among blue- and white-collar workers persist. What are the sources of these prevalent feelings?

Is work today viewed only as a means to other ends? Are the rewards sought realistic? Satisfying?

What are the major sources of job satisfaction? Is restructuring of jobs necessary to increase job satisfaction?

Program Suggestions and Resources

Earning a Living

What do the members of your group do to earn a living? What are their attitudes toward the work they do? Invite each member to describe his or her job and feelings about that job. Ask each member what he or she would change if given the opportunity. During the discussion, look for consensus of opinion that could summarize your group's attitude toward work. This discussion could be recorded as part of an oral history of your group.

Work and Worth

Individual self-concepts generally are greatly influenced by jobs and success on the job. In a panel discussion explore the relationship of work to identity and worth throughout America's history. Panel members could include local ministers, priests, or rabbis; a counselor or psychologist from a local high school, college or university; a local labor leader; and a personnel director for a local business or industry.

Rewards of Labor

What do Americans today seek in return for their labor? Do the rewards of labor compensate for the commonly identified drawback of work—boredom, drudgery, repetition? To stimulate discussion on these questions, begin by viewing "The Blue Collar Trap," a documentary on the work and leisure lives of young factory workers. Members can be encouraged to react to the film in subsequent discussion session led by a local social worker or social science teacher from a local high school, college or university.

No More 9 to 5 for Me

More and more people are seeking and creating their own alternatives to traditional styles and modes of labor. For a glimpse of one such alternative, watch "The Factory," a portrait of an "alternative" woodworking factory that allows flexible hours and worker control of the factory environment. Then invite members of your community experimenting with alternatives to standardized working hours to discuss their motivations and experiences with your group.

The Age of Alienation

Today's white-collar workers, often in jobs envied by blue-collar workers, are beginning to voice many of the same dissatisfactions heard on the factory assembly line. Many times the white-collar worker's feelings of alienation and helplessness can be traced to the common structures and systems of large organizations. For a humorous view of the frustrations encountered in a large organization, watch "Problem," a short, animated film about the dehumanizing effect of bureaucracies. Then convene a panel to explore the issues raised in the film. Panelists could include an executive of a large organization, a personnel director or labor relations specialist, a division or department manager in a local business or industry, and a teacher of social science or communications in a local high school, college, or university.

Breaking Out, Breaking In

In light of the women's liberation movement, many women are breaking out of traditional "women's jobs" and beginning new and varied careers. The film "Other Women, Other Work" surveys women employed in traditionally male-dominated jobs. View this film with your group and then invite a group of women to share their knowledge of expanded job opportunities for women. Guests could include community women in nontraditional jobs as well as personnel directors and counselors who are knowledgeable about job opportunities for women.

ORGANIZATION OF THE LABOR FORCE
January 18 to January 24

"More!"
– Samuel Gompers

Background

From American Issues Forum: A Courses by Newspaper Reader, Vol. II.

Factory Girl. Mill worker Lucy Larcom emphasizes the positive impact of industrial life upon the character of young women.

Sister Carrie: Her Miserable Task. Novelist Theodore Dreiser captures the tedium and pressures of assembly line labor on a young female worker.

Homestead: "The Mouth of Hell." The intolerable conditions at Carnegie's Homestead steel mill are chronicled by historian Leon Wolff.

The Fruits of Industrialization. Economic historian Edward C. Kirkland recounts the social gains resulting from industrialization.

The Line. The modern automobile assembly line and its impact upon auto workers are explored by *Detroit Free Press* reporter William Serrin.

"To Make Them Stand In Fear." Historian Kenneth Stampp describes slavery as a method of maintaining a permanent labor force sustained by fear, brutality, and coercion.

"De Rich White Folks Never Did No Work." Sarah Gudger, a former slave, tells of her life on a plantation prior to the Civil War.

Helpless Victims: Children in the Mines. The conditions under which children labored in industrial America are described by Owen R. Lovejoy, a member of the National Child Labor Committee which sought to abolish child labor.

"Plum Picker." Novelist Raymond Barrio captures one day in the life of a Mexican farm worker.

From Popular Periodicals

The myths of blue-collar workers as well-off, racist conservatives are challenged in "Reporter at Large: The Working Class Majority" in the September 2, 1974 issue of *The New Yorker* (pp. 36–40+).

An interview with Emil Mazey, the feisty, independent secretary-treasurer of the United Automobile Workers, and articles on mine safety, union no-strike policies, and the role of blacks in unions are part of a symposium "Labor in '74: Once Again a Movement" in the September 7, 1974 issue of *The Nation* (pp. 166–82).

Reviews of major modern labor disputes are found in "How the Union Beat Willie Farah" in the August 1974 issue of *Fortune* (pp. 164–67+) and in "Is Chavez Beaten?" in *The New York Times Magazine*, September 15, 1974 (pp. 18–20+).

America's unions today look weak, middle-aged, and indecisive in the eyes of journalist A. H. Raskin in "Is the Picket Line Obsolete?" in the October 19, 1974 issue of *Saturday Review/World* (pp. 12–17).

An "extraordinary psychological climate" prevails in a labor-run factory, according to D. Zwerdling in "When Workers Manage" in the July 1974 issue of *Progressive* (pp. 29–31).

Books to Read

Selections from the bibliography of American Issues Forum Study Guide, Vol. II.

Ford: The Times, the Man, the Company by Allan Nevins. In this three-volume study of the career of Henry Ford, Nevins traces the evolution of the industrial work force and its struggle for unionization.

White Collar by C. Wright Mills. This study of the world of the middle-class worker casts an ominous shadow over the cheery pastel environment of the office.

Selections from the American Library Association Bicentennial Reading List.

The Jungle by Upton Sinclair. Written in 1906, while Sinclair was a journalist investigating conditions in the Chicago stockyards, *The Jungle* focuses on a family of Lithuanian immigrants. It indicts the economic system and the environment of the slaughtering and packing houses.

Toil and Trouble by Thomas R. Brooks. This history of American labor from colonial times to the 1960s concludes with a discussion of the role of collective bargaining in the private-enterprise system. Brooks sees a need for still greater social reform.

Suggested Discussion Questions

Has organized labor achieved the goals sought by early union organizers? What frontiers remain for today's unions?

Can organized labor today be viewed as a social movement? Or is it part of the "establishment"?

Have labor unions emphasized wages and benefits at the expense of less tangible demands such as job satisfaction?

What do newly organized white-collar workers have in common with long-organized blue-collar workers?

Program Suggestions and Resources

Labor Unions—Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow

Remind your group of the early struggles of labor unions by viewing "The Inheritance," an award-winning film on the history of American labor unions from the beginning of the 20th century to the early 1960s. Then invite local labor leaders to discuss the unions' present and future goals. Members should be encouraged to react to and question the stated goals.

Organizing Workers Today

One effort to unionize workers that has attracted national attention is the struggle of the farm workers in California. For a look at this contemporary labor dispute view "Why We Boycott," a film produced by the United Farm Workers (UFW) to chronicle its battles with growers and rival unions. If the UFW is active in your area, invite union representatives and local growers to discuss points of controversy. If the UFW is not active in your area, a local labor leader or labor relations specialist might be invited to discuss the advantages and obstacles to organization faced by modern labor leaders.

Right to Strike

In recent years, many white-collar workers such as teachers, medical technicians, and doctors have voted to strike. Convene a panel to explore the controversial issues

surrounding strikes by professionals, particularly those who work in "vital" areas. Panelists could include representatives from a local teachers' union, medical society, and/or labor organizations of technical personnel or public employees. A local prosecutor or judge can be invited to begin the discussion by summarizing the laws that pertain to strikes by public employees.

Laboring Against Prejudice

Racial minorities and women have encountered prejudice not only on the job but within labor unions. To familiarize your group with the problems encountered by minorities, view "Finally Got the News," a film that recounts the efforts of black auto workers to form a union responsive to minority laborers. Then discuss with representatives from local unions what steps have been and are being taken to upgrade the status of minorities and women within the unions.

Working for Political Clout

The impact of labor on politics is evident in all levels of government and in all political parties. To assess the political impact of labor locally, invite union leaders active in politics to discuss labor's political activities both within the unions and in local, state, and national contests. Local officeholders also can be invited to share their efforts to attract labor support.

THE WELFARE STATE: PROVIDING A LIVELIHOOD
January 25 to January 31

"If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich."

-- John F. Kennedy

Background

From American Issues Forum: A Courses by Newspaper Reader, Vol. II.

"I Don't Walk Around With Jobs in My Pockets." The problems of finding jobs for the unemployed are examined by journalist Polly Toynbee.

The Future of Work: The Post-Industrial Society. How the nature of work will change in a future dominated by a scarcity of jobs is described by sociologist Daniel Bell.

From Popular Periodicals

The popularity of a social program like Social Security and the unpopularity of welfare aid are probed by economics professor Robert Lekachman in "Redistributing Income: What Works, What Doesn't" in the May 11, 1974 issue of *The Nation* (pp. 589–91).

What happened to the War on Poverty? M. R. Arnold, Congressional correspondent for the *National Observer*, offers an assessment in "Good War That Might Have Been" in the September 29, 1974 issue of *The New York Times Magazine* (pp. 56–57+).

Welfare systems for the poor and non-poor affect their recipients differently, argues economics professor A. Dale Tussing in "Dual Welfare Systems" in the January 1974 issue of *Society* (pp. 50–57).

Books to Read

Selections from the American Library Association Bicentennial Reading List.

Let Us Now Praise Famous Men by James Agee and Walker Evans. During the summer of 1936, poet-journalist Agee and photographer Evans lived with the family of George Gudger, a one-mule half-cropper in Alabama. Their sympathetic record of life among the poor of the rural South reveals a solid dignity amidst humiliating poverty.

The Other America by Michael Harrington. Harrington sees poverty in America as an invisible subculture populated by industrial rejects, migrants, minorities, and the aged. The book, first published in the early sixties, did much to provoke antipoverty programs by its genuine sense of the disgrace suffered by the poor.

Suggested Discussion Questions

Does society have an obligation to support those who are unable to support themselves?

What form of aid should be given to the unemployed, the disabled, the elderly, the sick? A guaranteed annual income? Provision for food and shelter? Rehabilitation?

How should social welfare programs be funded? What is the responsibility of government? Business and industry? The public?

Is it possible to free present social welfare programs from corruption, red tape, demeaning procedures? Is reform the answer? Or is a complete overhaul necessary?

What are the sources of public outrage toward social welfare programs and their recipients? Are these reasons legitimate?

Program Suggestions and Resources

Helping Hand

In every community, privately funded agencies offer services to the troubled and disadvantaged. Bring to your group an overview of these agencies and the services they provide by inviting a number of agency directors to your meeting. In addition to outlining present programs, each director should be encouraged to describe programs now on the drawing boards and to suggest ways your group might help implement them.

Down and Out

The current high unemployment rate has focused new interest on the causes and cures of unemployment. Explore the unemployment problem first by viewing "The Captive," a film about an Appalachian miner displaced by technological change. Then invite a representative from the state department of labor or from the local Chamber of Commerce to comment on the issues raised in the film and to suggest proposals for alleviating the problems.

Social Insecurity?

Social Security, one of the few social welfare programs with broad acceptance in America, has recently been charged with being discriminatory, bureaucratic, and mismanaged. Invite the manager of your local Social Security office to discuss the issues and concerns confronting the program's administration. Members should be encouraged to raise any questions they may have about the Social Security program.

Welfare Reform

Voices from across the political system have called for a reform of existing social welfare programs. What kinds of reforms have been suggested and what are the rationales for these proposals? Review these suggested reforms with

your group in a panel discussion. Panelists could include your local county social services director, your state senator or representative, former administrators of past federal programs such as Model Cities or Office of Economic Opportunity, and representatives of local groups concerned with welfare reform.

The Land of Plenty

Although the United States enjoys the highest standard of living in the world, millions of Americans suffer from hunger and malnutrition. The extent of this problem is documented in "Hunger in America," an award-winning film produced by CBS News. View this film with your group and invite a local representative of the U.S. Department of Agriculture or the local administrator of the Food Stamp program to respond to the issues raised.

ENJOYING THE FRUITS OF LABOR
February 1 to February 17

"They talk of the dignity of work. Bosh. The dignity is in leisure."

—Herman Melville

Background

From American Issues Forum: A Courses by Newspaper Reader, Vol. II.

Why Do They Work So Hard? Americans find little pleasure or creativity in work itself; instead they experience fulfillment in activities pursued beyond work roles, argue sociologists Robert and Helen Lynd.

"May I Help You?" Kenneth Lasson interviews a telephone operator who finds creativity and joy in a job others might describe as mechanical or boring.

Discontented Workers? Sociologists Daniel Bell and Irving Kristol debate the pervasiveness of job dissatisfaction in American life.

From Popular Periodicals

Sabbaticals for everyone? "Proposed: That Every American Get One Year Off in Every Seven," by K. LaMott in the February 1974 issue of *Esquire* (pp. 63–69+) discusses the merits and drawbacks of expanding the sabbatical system long enjoyed by academicians.

The impact of the recent energy crisis on leisure activities and leisure-based industries is assessed in "Standing Shift in Vacation Habits" in the February 25, 1974 issue of *U.S. News and World Report* (p. 34+).

Retired business executive R. C. Alberts explores the often inexplicable intricacies of the Social Security system in "Catch 65" in the August 4, 1974 issue of *The New York Times Magazine* (pp. 11+). A reply by Arthur S. Hess, Deputy Commissioner of the Social Security Administration, appears in the September 8, 1974 issue of *The New York Times Magazine* (pp. 47+).

Protections afforded by changes in the law regulating pension plans are spelled out by Robert Holzman and Ann Dear in "What the New Pension Reform Act Means to You" in the January 1975 issue of *Reader's Digest* (pp. 85–88).

A very personal glimpse into the experience of retirement is offered by writer Robert Alberts in "Report From the Twilight Years" in the November 17, 1974 issue of *The New York Times Magazine* (pp. 31+).

Books to Read

Selections from the bibliography in American Issues Forum Study Guide, Vol. II.

Automobile Workers and the American Dream by Eli Chinoy. In this scholarly work, Chinoy investigates the life, the working day, and the aspirations and dissatisfactions of the typical auto worker.

Workers' Control by Gerry Hunnius, G. David Carson, and John Case. This collection of essays considers the problems of transferring the management function to the work force itself.

Selections from the American Library Association Bicentennial Reading List.

The Lonely Crowd by David Riesman. Industrialization, a shorter workday, and a shorter work life have given us an "abyss of leisure" and provoked a change in the American character. So says Riesman, who shows how the "inner-directed" man of the nineteenth century has given way to an "other-directed" man—a lonely member of a lonely crowd desperately engaged in having fun.

The Foxfire Book edited by Eliot Wigginton. If you have a yen to learn hog dressing, log cabin building, planting by the signs, quilt making, snake lore, moonshining, or other aspects of country living, this book introduces them with accuracy, charm, and respect for the good old traditional ways.

Suggested Discussion Questions

How can time devoted to work be maximized to increase time available for recreation and leisure?

Must Americans be taught how to relax and how to use their leisure time? Why?

Given the fact that greater amounts of leisure time are available, would Americans benefit from a "leisure ethic"?

How can Americans prepare themselves for retirement?

What is the ideal balance between leisure and work?

Program Suggestions and Resources

Time on Your Hands

Take a lively and philosophical look at leisure by viewing "That's What Living's About," a film that explores the uses and misuses of leisure. Following the film, a representative of your community's Department of Parks and Recreation can be invited to discuss steps being taken locally to increase or improve leisure opportunities.

The Promise of Pensions

With alarming regularity, private pension plans have failed to deliver the benefits expected by people who have paid into them throughout their work history. For a perspective on this problem, begin by viewing "Pensions: The Broken Promise," a film that chronicles the abuses of union and private pension plans, which often leave people with nothing at retirement. Then invite your local Congressman, Senator, or State Legislator to discuss recent laws designed to end some of the abuses described in the film.

Leaving the Workaday World Behind

Most social scientists agree that people are rarely prepared to deal with the changes brought on by retirement. For a glimpse into the retirement lives of a number of vibrant, active senior citizens, view "Now is

Forever." Then invite a representative of your local or state Council on Aging or a social worker who works with senior citizens to discuss with your group ways to ease the transition from work to retirement and ways to make the retirement years full and productive.

Life After 65

What is it like to be suddenly free of the demands and structure that work imposes on a person's life? What common misconceptions do people have about retirement? For first-person answers to these questions, invite retired members of your organization to be your special guests. In small group discussions, explore the retirement experience from the standpoint of individual perspectives. A moderator might be appointed to summarize the conclusions drawn by each discussion group.

Horatio Alger Book Cover

THE BUSINESS OF AMERICA

America is also a marketplace. Americans seem to have a gift for business, a genius for marrying technology and marketing. As a colony, we were a part of the British commercial structure; the American Revolution gave us economic as well as political independence. Shrewd and ambitious American entrepreneurs were able, in a remarkably short time, to transform the energies and resources of the new nation into the greatest wonder of the economic world. To organize production so that the energies of the ambitious are channeled into a "profit" that serves the community as a whole—this has been the theory of the American free enterprise system; and by virtue of its success it has often been seen as a progressive and modernizing force, serving the community in a variety of ways. But are we too preoccupied with business? Does commercialism distort our values? This month we shall ask ourselves how business and trade have affected our attitudes toward freedom and democracy, our philosophy of government, the way we live. How have our ideas of free enterprise changed over our history? Is government regulation necessary to keep business honest? Is it true, as Calvin Coolidge put it half a century ago, that "the business of America is business"?

—from the American Issues Forum Calendar of Topics

PRIVATE ENTERPRISE IN THE MARKETPLACE
February 8 to February 14

"I am not on Wall Street for my health."

—J. Pierpont Morgan

Background

From American Issues Forum: A Courses by Newspaper Reader, Vol. II.

Free Private Enterprise. Economist Sumner H. Slichter gives a classic description of the free enterprise system and contrasts it with other possible methods of economic organization.

Free Enterprise: Myth or Reality? Consumer advocate Ralph Nader discusses the impact of the corporate economy on the individual consumer and the economic system.

From Popular Periodicals

Economist Milton Friedman describes the Pilgrims' shift from collective to private ownership in "Giving Thanks for Free Enterprise" in the November 25, 1974 issue of *Newsweek* (p. 106).

Why is socialism a taboo in America? University of California professor Robert Bellah turns to the history of socialism for answers in "Roots of the American Taboo" in the December 28, 1974 issue of *The Nation* (pp. 677–85).

Books to Read

Selections from the American Issues Forum Study Guide, Vol. II.

Capitalism and Freedom by Milton Friedman. Economist Friedman enthusiastically and persuasively defends unlimited capitalism.

Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy by Joseph A. Schumpeter. A world-famous economist describes the forces tending to transform historical capitalism.

Selections from the American Library Association Bicentennial Reading List.

The Worldly Philosophers by Robert L. Heilbroner. This survey of great economists, their lives and doctrines, is an introduction to capitalism, socialism, and the marketplace. Heilbroner talks about Adam Smith, Malthus, Ricardo, the utopian socialists, Marx, Veblen, Keynes, and recent thinkers, and places each doctrine in perspective by explaining underlying philosophies.

Business in American Life by Thomas C. Cochran. The relationship between business and American life from 1607 to 1970 is the focus here. Fusing the entrepreneurs and their societies, Cochran discusses how business has influenced American family life, education, religion, law, politics, conditions of employment, and the social structure.

Suggested Discussion Questions

Is it in the nature of human beings to compete with one another? If the competitive spirit is not intrinsic, what then are its possible sources?

What are the positive and negative results of competition in the marketplace? What can be done to overcome the negative aspects of economic competition?

Is the private, free enterprise system in the United States today either free or private?

What are the advantages of America's economic system? Is it still preferable to other economic systems? Is it the only economic system compatible with our democratic form of government?

How can the rights of both the entrepreneur and the consumer be protected in a free enterprise system?

Program Suggestions and Resources

The American Way

How does America's free enterprise system work? Compare your understanding of this system to the explanation found in "Freedom 2000," an award-winning film produced by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States to clear up misconceptions about business. Following the film, a representative from your local or state Chamber of Commerce can lead a discussion of the issues raised in the film.

New Enterpreneur

Starting a business today is a risky, challenging, and complex undertaking. To give your group an understanding of this process, convene a panel of new and established business people from your community. Each person can describe his or her experiences in undertaking a new enterprise, including the personal as well as the technical aspects of the effort.

The Corporation

Undoubtedly the dominant form of business in modern society is the powerful corporation. Take a look inside one of the nation's largest corporations by viewing "The Corporation," a film by CBS that examines the workings of Phillips Petroleum Corporation. Preceding this film, a teacher of economics from a local high school, community college, or university can briefly explain the history, organization, and regulation of this form of business.

Ways and Means

Too often the distinctions between economic systems have been obscured by political rhetoric. To make valid comparisons, begin by viewing "Lessons from the --Isms," a film that compares the economic systems in Russia and the United States. Then invite a teacher of economics or political science from a local high school, community college, or university to review the changes that have modified these two economic systems during the ten years since the film was made.

Buyer Beware

The maxim *Caveat emptor* (let the buyer beware) has been strongly challenged by a swelling number of consumer advocates. To acquaint your group with the issues and programs of these consumer groups, convene a panel that might include the head of your state or city consumer protection agency, a representative from the staff of the attorney general's consumer division, a representative from local citizens' action consumer groups, and a consumer representative from a local business, financial organization, or retail association.

EMPIRE BUILDING: CORNERING THE MARKET
February 15 through February 21

"We can have democracy in this country or we can have great wealth concentrated in the hands of a few, but we can't have both."

–Louis D. Brandeis

Background

From American Issues Forum: A Courses by Newspaper Reader, Vol. II.

"Acres of Diamonds." This famous speech, delivered more than 6,000 times in the late nineteenth century by preacher Russell H. Conwell, advocates the gospel of success and free enterprise.

From Rags to Riches. An excerpt from a popular Horatio Alger, Jr., novel presents a simple formula for success in America: pluck and luck.

The Making of a Millionaire. Andrew Carnegie, an extraordinarily successful entrepreneur, explains how he seized opportunities on his road from rags to riches.

Barbarians from Above. In this scathing attack on the Standard Oil Company of the turn of the century, muckraker Henry Demarest Lloyd exposes the excesses of the free enterprise system and denounces the social ethic of competition.

From Popular Periodicals

Andrew Carnegie, Thomas Edison, Eli Whitney, and other business innovators are profiled in "Laureates from Two Centuries" in the January 1975 issue of *Fortune* (pp. 67–73).

How corporations balance the claims of their constituents –banks, customers, employees, and stockholders, to name a few–is explored in "Intricate 'Politics' of the Corporation" in the April 1975 issue of *Fortune* (pp. 108–12+).

Four authors relate their personal experiences with corporate power in America in "Coping with Corporate Power: A Symposium" in the July 1974 issue of *Progressive* (pp. 13–31).

Corporate leaders and economists offer their views on big business in "American Business: Is It Getting Too Big?" in the May 15, 1974 special issue of *Fortune.*

The far-reaching effects of multinational corporations are analyzed by Richard Barnet and Ronald Muller in "Reporter at Large: Effect of Global Corporations on the Economy" in the December 2, 1974 issue (pp. 53+) and the December 9, 1974 issue (pp. 100+) of *The New Yorker.*

The late historian Arnold Toynbee analyzes the world-wide impact of multinational corporations in "Arnold

Toynbee: Are Businessmen Creating Pax Romana?" in the April 15, 1974 issue of *Forbes* (pp. 68+).

Books to Read

Selections from the bibliography in the American Issues Forum Study Guide, Vol. II.

People of Plenty by David M. Potter. The key to United States history, this book persuasively argues, is not the frontier but our early and maintained prosperity.

Selections from the American Library Association Bicentennial Reading List.

Concept of the Corporation by Peter F. Drucker. The modern corporation is a unique economic organization of our time. Drucker writes a case study of the General Motors Corporation and uses political and sociological analysis to describe its growth, organization, policies, and impact on the larger society.

The Octopus by Frank Norris. The fight in southern California between the farmers and the railroad over control of the land was long, bitter, and bloody. This turn-of-the-century novel concerns the tragic involvement of three young men in the struggle and describes America in an era of brawling expansion.

Suggested Discussion Questions

Have the size and power of a few large businesses and industries curbed competition in America? If so, what can be done to restore a balance?

What responsibilities does the corporation incur as a result of the power it holds?

What roadblocks and incentives are encountered by modern-day empire builders?

Should small businesses be provided with incentives and protections to encourage their survival in today's marketplace?

In the global economy populated by giant multinational corporations, what is the relationship between economic power and political influence? Should this relationship be regulated? If so, by whom?

Program Suggestions and Resources

Once Upon a Time . . .

In the history of American business stand giants whose accomplishments, successes, and impact are today almost incomprehensible. Three of these larger-than-life figures are portrayed in "The Rise of Big Business," a film about empire-builders Carnegie, Rockefeller, and Morgan. View this film with your group, then lead a panel discussion on the question "Empire Builders Past and Present: Boon or Blight on Society?" Panel members could include a teacher of history and/or business from a local high school, community college, or university, a union representative, and a representative of your local Chamber of Commerce.

Big Business

Americans, always troubled by the size and influence of big business, have been unable to agree on methods of controlling or limiting the growth of corporations, conglomerates, and multinational firms. To set the stage for a discussion of this issue, show "Business: Brother Can You Spare $1,000,000,000?"—a film in which economist John K. Galbraith describes a future dominated by 200 megacorporations. Then invite an economics or business teacher from a local high school, community college, or university to lead a group discussion of the issues raised in the film.

The Corporate Helping Hand

Does a corporation have an obligation, a "social responsibility," to provide services or fund programs for the public? Invite leaders of several prominent businesses and industries in your area to discuss their views on corporate responsibility and to describe the ways they have put their philosophy to work in your community or state.

Small in the Land of Giants

The growth of big business—large corporations and nationwide chains—has had a tremendous impact on the growth and survival of small businesses nationwide. Assess this impact by inviting small business owners or managers to discuss the problems they face in light of the current economic structure. Guests could include owners of small grocery or drug stores, local restaurants, motels or hotels, and small industries.

SUBSIDIZING AND REGULATING: CONTROLLING THE ECONOMY
February 22 to February 28

"Every monopoly and all exclusive privileges are granted at the expense of the public."

—Andrew Jackson

Background

From American Issues Forum: A Courses by Newspaper Reader, Vol. II.

"All—the—traffic—will—bear." The discriminatory practices of corporations that achieved monopolistic control are portrayed in this excerpt from Frank Norris' turn-of-the-century novel *The Octopus.*

The Crisis of Self-Reliance and Self-Help. Former President Herbert Hoover, in a statement of faith in free enterprise, explains why, in his opinion, private charity and not the federal government should care for the unemployed.

A New Deal for the Economy. In this famous address made in 1932 while he was still only a candidate for president, Franklin Roosevelt called for a massive government program of economic recovery and reform, aimed at alleviating the hardships caused by the depression of 1929.

How Much Government, How Much Freedom? Distinguished economists George J. Stigler and Paul Samuelson debate the role of government in regulating the economy.

From Popular Periodicals

Government regulation of business can lead to the demise of private enterprise, predicts *Fortune* editor W. Geezzardi, Jr., in "Putting the Cuffs on Capitalism" in the April 1975 issue of *Fortune* (pp. 104–107+).

A brief summary of Federal regulatory agencies and their current concerns is found in "Closer Federal Eye on Nearly Everything You See" in the March 3, 1975 issue of *U.S. News and World Report* (pp. 72–73).

Books to Read

Selections from the bibliography in American Issues Forum Study Guide, Vol. II.

The Age of Roosevelt: Vol. 2, The Coming of the New Deal by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. This readable history traces the transformation of President Herbert Hoover's "rugged individualism" to President Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal.

New Dimensions of Political Economy by Walter W. Heller. The former chief economic advisor to President John F. Kennedy describes the mixed economy.

Selections from the American Library Association Bicentennial Reading List.

Today's Isms by William Ebenstein. As a political scientist and scholar the author examines the four main systems of political-economic thought operating in the world today—capitalism, socialism, communism, and fascism. While critical of the concentration of ownership in America and weaknesses in British socialism, on the whole he presents a sensible defense of democracy.

America, Inc. by Morton Mintz and Jerry S. Cohen. The efforts of corporations to win privileged positions, to regulate the regulators, to control the marketplace, and to buy political influence are not new. This fresh examination of industry, banks, and government reaches an old conclusion: The country will be better off if the concentration of economic power is broken up.

Suggested Discussion Questions

In light of the history of business in America, is regulation warranted?

What are the alternatives to regulation of business by government?

Does the present amount of government regulation have an adverse effect on business competition or growth?

Are all the existing regulatory agencies in government fulfilling the requirements of the statutes that created them?

What are the arguments for increased regulation of business and industry?

Can and/or should the government regulate the activities of U.S. corporations active in other countries?

Program Suggestions and Resources

How Much is Enough?

The long-standing, often heated debate about the role of government in the regulation of businesses and industries still flourishes. Explore the issues in this controversy by conducting a debate between advocates of both sides. The debaters could include recruits from the local Chamber of Commerce, business executives, and representatives from a state or federal regulatory agency. A teacher who is familiar with the history of governmental regulations could serve as moderator.

In the Public's Interest

Protecting American citizens from hazardous products, including food and toys, has long been the responsibility of state and federal regulatory agencies. But how effective are these agencies in protecting modern-day consumers? Explore this question by viewing "Fire!" an ABC News Closeup which indicts the efforts of government and industry to protect the public from flammable products. Following the film, invite regulatory agency representatives, as well as spokespersons for business and consumer interests, to discuss the issues raised in the film.

Government Control

What is the extent of government involvement in the nation's financial affairs? One organization that is active in regulating the U.S. money market is the Federal Reserve. For an inside look at the "Fed's" activities, view "Money on the Move—The Federal Reserve Today," a 1963 film still relevant today because it explains the basic concepts of the Federal Reserve system. After viewing the film, invite local bank, business, and industry executives to discuss the impact of recent Federal Reserve policies on their operations.

SELLING THE CONSUMER
February 29 to March 6

"I think that I shall never see/A billboard lovely as a tree."
—Ogden Nash

Background

From American Issues Forum: A Courses by Newspaper Reader, Vol. II.

Advertising Abundance. The late historian David Potter critically examines the role of advertising in forming American social values, and economist L. G. Telser explores the economic structure of the advertising industry as well as the nature of its impact upon business competition.

Ecological Armageddon. Economist Robert Heilbroner argues that America's environmental problems are but one part of a greater crisis threatening humanity.

Are There Limits to Growth? A group of systems analysts conclude that "the limits to growth on this planet will be reached sometime within the next one hundred years."

Critics of Doomsday. Economist Carl Kayson questions doomsday forecasts in light of the "numerous adjustment mechanisms" in the world economy.

From Popular Periodicals

The pros and cons of a proposed federal agency to protect consumers are outlined by U.S. Senators A. A. Ribicoff and J. G. Tower in "Consumer Agency: Both Sides of the Debate" in the April 28, 1975 issue of *U. S. News and World Report* (pp. 59–60).

The functions, problems, and future of Consumers Union, an influential consumers' advocate organization, are probed in "*Consumer Reports* Knows What's Best For Us All" in the February 1974 issue of *Esquire* (pp. 108–11+).

Books to Read

Selections from the bibliography in American Issues Forum Study Guide, Vol. II.

Advertising and the Public Interest edited by S. F. Divita. This collection of essays reviews the many controversial issues surrounding contemporary advertising.

Science and Survival by Barry Commoner. A biological scientist stresses the need to return to a simple mode of life.

Selections from the American Library Association Bicentennial Reading List.

Confessions of an Advertising Man by David Ogilvy. Does Madison Avenue control our minds as well as our purses? This glimpse into the machinery of an advertising firm, in which a leading advertising executive candidly discusses clients, commercials, and the management of product campaigns, shows how craft and technique combine to build the brand image.

Unsafe at Any Speed by the Nader Study Group. Selling the consumer may be more important to industry than his well-being. Presenting extensive evidence, Nader shows how automobile industry design stylists and cost cutters refuse, despite technical know-how, to make cars safer.

Suggested Discussion Questions

In addition to selling products, what is the impact of advertising on the American public and way of life?

Has the slogan "Truth in Advertising" become a reality? What steps can be taken to prevent deceptive advertising?

Do the media have a responsibility to screen advertisements and to refuse those whose credibility is questionable?

Are advertising and marketing responsible for the American pursuit of material possessions and pleasures or are they a product of the pursuit?

What role does advertising play in the education of the American consumer? Is this role appropriate? Should it be modified?

Program Suggestions and Resources

The Youngest Audience

Recently, as a result of nationwide consumer complaints, advertising shown during children's television programs has been regulated. Invite an executive or advertising manager from your local television station to discuss with your group the complaints that resulted in these changes and the scope of the changes themselves. If there is a local community group active in this controversy, one of its representatives might also be invited to participate. Local business people can be invited to comment on the effect of these recent changes on their advertising.

Images of Ourselves

Since the resurgence of the women's movement, women's organizations have become increasingly critical of the way women are portrayed in advertisements. Explore this issue in a discussion with representatives of women's organizations and advertising executives. Members can be encouraged to bring in examples of ads they believe are offensive to women.

The Selling of the Candidate

The role of advertising in political campaigns has frequently been criticized for substituting style for substance. For an inside look at the effects of advertising on a candidate and his campaign, view "Campaign: American Style," a film that exposes the packaging of a candidate for a local office by his advertising agency. Then ask several past candidates, successful and unsuccessful, to react to the content of the film in terms of their own experiences.

A Slick Profession

Perhaps no professional has been identified with superficiality and slickness as strongly as an advertising executive. For one view of this often disliked profession, view "Buy, Buy," a film that takes you into the world of an advertising executive and behind the scenes in the production of a commercial. Then invite local advertising executives to comment on the image projected in the film and steps the advertising industry is taking to change the public's view of it.

Truth in Advertising

Truth in advertising—is it more than just a catchy slogan? How substantial are the claims for products made in ads? Is the consumer sure to get what advertising has pictured? Ask a local advertising executive to describe recent changes in regulations concerning advertising claims. Local newspaper, television, and/or radio advertising managers also can be invited to comment on the steps being taken to screen advertising. Members can be encouraged to share their personal experiences with misleading, inaccurate, or fraudulent advertising.

President Woodrow Wilson wags his finger at Mexico in disapproval of the Mexican Revolution.

AMERICA IN THE WORLD

The conduct of foreign affairs presents contrasts as dramatic as any in our national experience. When Washington was leading the Continental Army and later, when he became President, the United States was struggling to establish its independence in the face of a larger rivalry between the two Great Powers—Britain and France. Two hundred years later, the United States has itself become one of the two Great Powers with far-flung economic and military activities. Yet the main questions about American foreign policy have remained unchanged.

What should be our posture in foreign affairs? How should we mix the four basic elements in foreign policy—the military, humanitarian, economic, and diplomatic? As a country born of a war for independence, we were long disposed toward self-sufficiency and isolationism. Yet as a country dedicated to the goal of freedom for all, we have a powerful sense of mission to the other peoples of the world. As a land of immense natural resources and wealth, our power is felt in almost every corner of the world today. Rapid communication has reduced the size of the world. Has it also reduced our sovereignty? How well have we used our power? When and how have we abused it?

—from the American Issues Forum
Calendar of Topics

THE AMERICAN "DREAM" AMONG NATIONS
March 7 to March 13

"... into the hands of America God has placed the destinies of afflicted humanity."

—Pius XII, 1946

Background

From American Issues Forum: A Courses by Newspaper Reader, Vol. II.

"Americans Love Change But They Dread Revolution." Frenchman Alexis de Tocqueville, visiting the United States in the 1830s, accurately predicts America's reactions to twentieth-century revolutions.

How Revolutionary Was the American Revolution? The American Revolution has more in common with colonial wars for independence than with a great social upheaval like the French Revolution, argues historian Thomas C. Barrow.

From Popular Periodicals

The ways politics, economics, and the weather combine to produce a world food economy and crisis are documented by reporter Emma Rothschild in her report on the First World Food Conference in the May 26, 1975 issue of *The New Yorker* (pp. 40–44+).

A recent evaluation of American foreign aid policies can be found in "After 197 Billions, the U.S. Turns Sour on Foreign Aid" in the January 20, 1975 issue of *U.S. News and World Report* (pp. 38–41).

For insights into how American foreign aid is decided see "Flight from Aid" by Sidney Karnow in the February 9, 1974 issue of *New Republic* (pp. 19–21).

The United States is the only hope for Third World countries reeling under the impact of the energy crisis, argues reporter Richard Critchfield in "Helping the Poorest of the Poor" in the March 23, 1974 issue of *New Republic* (pp. 14–17).

L.A. Mayer paints a gloomy picture of the world food situation in "We Can't Take Food for Granted Any More" in the February 1974 issue of *Fortune* (pp. 84–89+).

Historian Henry Steele Commager looks at the impact of America's national philosophy on its foreign policy in "America in the Age of No Confidence" in the August 10, 1974 issue of *Saturday Review/World* (pp. 15–16+).

Books to Review

Selections from the bibliography in American Issues Forum Study Guide, Vol. II.

The Irony of American History by Reinhold Niebuhr. An influential American theologian and philosopher argues that the United States necessarily becomes less secure as it becomes more powerful.

Selections from the American Library Association Bicentennial Reading List.

Good Things About the U.S. Today by the Editors of *U.S. News and World Report.* Facts and figures, illustrated by photographs and charts, support the idea that the American dream is far from an illusion at home or in the world at large today.

Superpower by Robert Hargreaves. Americans have undergone profound changes in their way of life since the election of John F. Kennedy to the presidency. Hargreaves looks at these changes and their meaning for our institutions through discussions of the South, cities, labor, crime, newspapers, minorities, and other aspects of daily life.

Suggested Discussion Questions

What are the origins of the "missionary spirit" in the history of America's foreign affairs? Of its desire to "make the world safe for democracy"?

In the eyes of other countries, have America's humanitarian efforts around the world been tainted with national self-interest? If so, is it possible to revise our motivations or change world opinion? How?

Given the present concern with vanishing resources in the face of rising demands by greater numbers of people, what do you believe is an appropriate posture for the United States toward less fortunate countries?

As a nation faced with its own shortages, should the United States attempt to alter its role as "breadbasket of the world"? To what degree should foreign aid programs be modified?

Should international aid programs be transferred from the individual nations to the control of international associations like the United Nations?

Program Suggestions and Resources

Veterans' Day

Invite to your meeting veterans of the four major wars of this century—World War I, World War II, the Korean conflict, and the Vietnam War. In an informal discussion or a panel discussion compare the veterans' reasons for going to war and the reaction to American involvement they discovered abroad. A history teacher from a local high school, community college, or university can be asked to serve as moderator and provide historical perspective on each war.

In a Foreign Land

The Peace Corps was a part of the humanitarian side of U.S. foreign policy in the 1960s. For a perspective on this experiment, view "Triunfo—Peace Corps in Honduras," a low-key film that gives insights into activities of Peace Corps volunteers as technical advisors in a foreign country. Conclude by inviting a former Peace Corps member from your area to share his or her experiences abroad and to recall reactions abroad to the program and the United States in general.

"And If You Help One of These . . ."

Many efforts to relieve poverty, sickness, and hunger around the world are sponsored by religious organizations. Invite a panel to discuss with your group the programs currently under way and their prescriptions for solutions to these problems. Panel members could include local priests, ministers, and rabbis as well as state and/or national religious leaders. As background you might consider showing one of the films produced by these organizations to illustrate their work abroad. Local religious leaders or invited panelists should be helpful in securing a film.

Famine!

Famine, which has already taken hundreds of thousands of lives in lands lying immediately south of the equator, could eventually cast its grim shadow over the entire earth unless farmers are able to meet the rapidly increasing demand for foodstuffs. For insights into this problem, begin by viewing "And Who Shall Feed This World?" an NBC white paper that examines the world food problems and points out the political and social complexities involved in formulating a solution. Conclude with a discussion with a representative from your state department of agriculture on steps being taken locally to increase production and on scientific advances that have resulted in greater, more nutritious yields from plantings.

People Everywhere

One of the most commonly mentioned causes of world-wide hunger and malnutrition is overpopulation. Invite one of the many groups that advocate zero population growth to discuss the impact that uncontrolled population growth could have on the world's resources, and the steps being taken to end the population explosion. Obstacles faced by these groups in implementing their programs should also be discussed. In addition, groups who oppose population control can be invited to present their views.

THE ECONOMIC DIMENSION
March 14 to March 20

"No country on the globe is so happily situated . . . We need go abroad for nothing."

—Thomas Paine
Common Sense, 1776

Background

From Popular Periodicals

In a special issue published on July 6, 1974, the editors of *Business Week* focused on various aspects of the world economy and concluded that inflation, slowdown, and change are its present hallmarks.

Economic growth south of the border is changing the United States' relationship with Latin America, reports Richard Armstrong in "Suddenly It's Mañana in Latin America" in the August 1974 issue of *Fortune* (pp. 138–43+).

The view of world affairs from the executive suites of giant U.S. corporations is currently less hawkish and more dovish, according to a survey published in the May 1974 issue of *Fortune* (pp. 165+).

In excerpts from their controversial book, Richard Barnet and Ronald Muller analyze the effects of multinational corporations on the world economy and world relations. See the December 2, 1974 issue (pp. 53+) and the December 9, 1974 issue (pp. 100+) of *The New Yorker.*

New relationships between America and developing nations are being influenced by economics, John Hatch, editor of *Third World,* points out in "Legacy of Suspicion: The U.S. and the Third World" in the May 4, 1974 issue of *The Nation* (pp. 551–53).

Books to Review

Selections from American Issues Forum Study Guide, Vol. II.

The Diplomacy of the Dollar, 1919–1932 by Herbert Feis. This short essay describes how "internationalist" American economic diplomacy became during the 1920s.

Selections from the American Library Association Bicentennial Reading List.

The Rich Nations and the Poor Nations by Barbara Ward. The plight of the world's impoverished nations presents a dilemma for the rich ones. Lady Barbara examines four "revolutions"—material well-being, equality, science, and population growth—before developing her thesis that only economic progress makes possible a secure existence.

America and the World Political Economy by David P. Calleo and Benjamin M. Rowland. Current international economic problems in the United States and Europe have altered our relationships in the world. After a brief history of American and European economic thinking on international trade, Calleo and Rowland explore the idea of the Atlantic community and the main political and economic issues within it.

Suggested Discussion Questions

How have burgeoning U.S. business interests abroad influenced America's foreign policy?

Can these business interests be protected without intervention in the affairs of other countries?

As America moves toward a future of resource scarcity, should it strive for economic self-sufficiency or concentrate on establishing networks of international economic cooperation?

Does a global economy require the establishment of new institutions for regulation and mediation of disputes?

How has the rising importance of Third World countries as sources of much-needed raw materials affected our foreign affairs?

What will be the most potent foreign policy tool of the future? Military might? Access to raw materials such as oil and grain? International alliances?

Program Suggestions and Resources

A Place in the Sun

It used to be said that the sun never set on the British Empire; perhaps today it might be more appropriate to say that the sun never sets on American business interests. For a picture of U.S. business involvement around the world, invite executives from multinational corporations in your area to discuss their operations around the world and the influence United States foreign policy has on these investments. If there are no multinational firms nearby,

an executive of a large, nearby corporation could comment on the impact of the world economy on his company's affairs.

In the Big Picture

Where does your state fit in the world economy and, as a result of its position, what role does it urge for the United States in world affairs? Explore this question with your group in a panel discussion. Panelists could include representatives from the state departments of commerce and agriculture, from large labor unions, and from the local or state Chamber of Commerce.

Oil—A New Pressure

The use of economic pressures to influence foreign affairs is nothing new, but never in history has economic pressure had the impact of the recent Arab oil embargo. For insights into this critical dimension of the world economy, view "Oil in the Middle East," an NBC white paper that examines the United States' delicate position in regard to the oil-producing nations. Following the film, invite one of your local representatives in Congress to explain his or her position on America's oil policy.

The Cost of Doing Business Abroad

Any American business with operations in foreign countries must be sensitive to the local culture and customs as well as the local laws. For a view of the problems and advantages of doing business abroad, invite executives from area companies with multinational operations to describe their firms' experiences.

A POWER IN THE WORLD
March 21 to March 27

"Speak softly and carry a big stick."

—Theodore Roosevelt

Background

From American Issues Forum: A Courses by Newspaper Reader, Vol. II.

America as a World Power: The May Day Myth. Diplomatic historian Thomas A. Bailey argues that America's role as a world power began with the Declaration of Independence, not with the Spanish-American War in 1898.

President Polk's War and the Right of Revolution. Abraham Lincoln, then a Congressman, explains the rationale for his belief in the right of revolution of "any people, anywhere."

"Two Steps Forward and One Step Back": FDR and World War II. In his study of Roosevelt as an interventionist, historian Robert Divine shows the importance of presidential initiative to foreign policy formation.

"To Support Free Peoples. . ." This excerpt from a speech by President Harry Truman to Congress was the basis for American foreign policy for two decades following World War II.

"The Falling Domino." In a statement that eventually became the basis for American intervention in Indochina, President Dwight Eisenhower explains why political stability in Southeast Asia was vital to American security.

Reacting to Revolution: The Dominican Republic. Statements by President Lyndon Johnson and Senator J. William Fulbright present the pros and cons of American intervention in the Dominican Republic in 1965.

"Fire in the Lake." Award-winning author Frances Fitzgerald shows that differences between America and Vietnam prevented Americans from finding a solution to Vietnamese problems that would work for the Vietnamese.

From Popular Periodicals

Analyst Bonner Day tells why 30 cents of every tax dollar goes for defense even in peacetime in "Why the Growing Rift Between the U.S. and Europe" in the February 9, 1974 issue of *U.S. News and World Report* (pp. 64–66).

Former Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird looks at the outlook for peaceful relations between the United States and Russia in "Let's Not Fool Ourselves About Détente" in the February 1974 issue of *Readers' Digest* (pp. 57–60).

Will the arms race be curtailed by cutting military budgets? William Epstein, a special fellow at the United Nations Institute for Training and Research, explores the possibilities for arms control in "The Arms Race: Will the Russians Play American Roulette?" in the June 29, 1974 issue of *Saturday Review/World* (pp. 7+).

America's nuclear strategy that evolved during the Kennedy administration is now being questioned, Edward C. Luttwak, visiting professor at Johns Hopkins University, points out in "Nuclear Strategy: The New Debate" in the April 1974 issue of *Commentary* (pp. 53–59).

A balance of power is essential to détente, argues ex-Secretary of Defense Schlesinger in "Schlesinger for Defense; Defense for Détente" by journalist Leslie Gelb in the August 1974 issue of *The New York Times Magazine* (pp. 8–10+).

Books to Review

Selections from American Issues Forum Study Guide, Vol. II.

Negotiation from Strength: A Study in the Politics of Power by Coral Bell. This study shows how American policy makers hoped to dictate, rather than negotiate, a settlement in the Cold War.

Intervention and Revolution: The United States in the Third World by Richard Barnet. This overview by an official in the Kennedy administration reveals the post-1945 attitude toward revolution.

Selections from the American Library Association Bicentennial Reading List.

The United States and the Origins of the Cold War by John Lewis Gaddis. In a reversal of much contemporary revisionist historical writing on the origins of the Cold War, Gaddis focuses on specific Soviet-American differences as the real nucleus of the conflict. He lays the major blame on the U.S.S.R. for bringing about and continuing the conflict.

The Tragedy of American Diplomacy by William Appleman Williams. Using an economic interpretation of diplomatic history, Williams traces our failures in foreign policy—particularly in our opposition to the spread of communism—from the Open Door Notes of 1898. He questions many of our present practices and suggests the need for a radical new approach to international relations.

Suggested Discussion Questions

Is it possible for America to influence world affairs without interfering in the affairs of individual countries?

What is an appropriate role for the United States to play in world affairs in an era in which nuclear war remains a frightening possibility?

What is the appropriate role for the United States military in this nuclear era? Should its role in determining foreign policy be limited or expanded?

How have the frontier spirit and the cult of individualism in America colored our nation's foreign policy? Is this influence necessary, or is it dangerous and outmoded?

What is an appropriate role for United States intelligence operations in influencing foreign policy? Are national and international "moral codes" necessary to govern such covert undertakings?

Program Suggestions and Resources

The Tragedy of War

No war in recent history has brought as much death and destruction as did World War I. Recreate this period in history by viewing "Goodbye Billy: America Goes to War," a film prepared by historians who use the sights and sounds of the period to create an "emotional history" of World War I. Following the film, invite a history teacher from a local high school, community college, or university to comment on the differences between World War I and previous wars and on the ways in which it set the stage for World War II.

Military Preparedness

There is great controversy in this country surrounding the issue of defense spending during peacetime. Explore the various opinions on this issue in a panel discussion. Panelists could include local representatives of major political parties, active or retired, high-ranking military personnel, your area representatives in Congress, and local citizens who were active in the peace movement of the 1960s.

Building an Empire

Most historians agree that the Spanish-American War in 1898 marked the emergence of the United States as a world power embarking on a course of imperialism. For insights into the issues surrounding this critical time in American history, view "Lure of Empire," a dramatized documentary of the internal debate on the United States' world role. Then invite a political science or history teacher from a local high school, community college, or university to discuss the effect of the decisions dramatized in the film on present-day foreign policy.

Division in the Ranks

No modern war polarized the United States as did the lengthy Vietnam War. For perspectives on American involvement in this conflict, view "Hearts and Minds," an Academy Award-winning film that probes America's role in Vietnam and the lessons we have learned as a result. Following the film, conduct a panel discussion with persons in your community who were active in support of and opposition to the war. Panelists can comment on what they believe will be the lasting impact of the Vietnam War on American world policy.

A NATION AMONG NATIONS
March 28 to April 3

"America cannot be an ostrich with its head in the sand."
—Woodrow Wilson

Background

From American Issues Forum: A Courses by Newspaper Reader, Vol. II.

"Steer Clear of Permanent Alliances." President George Washington's advice to the nation to avoid entangling alliances became the foundation of American foreign policy.

Little Americans. This 1919 speech by Senator William Borah was part of a successful campaign to prevent United States involvement in the League of Nations.

The Paranoid Style in Politics. The late historian Richard Hofstadter documents Americans' fears of conspiracy.

"A New Isolationsim." Since the premises on which U.S. postwar strategies have been based are now obsolete, America can revert to an isolationist posture, argues political scientist Robert W. Tucker.

"The Insecurity of Nations." Charles Yost, former United States Ambassador to the United Nations, discusses the prospects for rational action among world powers.

From Popular Periodicals

The oil crisis put the final nail in the coffin of European unity, argues Walter Laq, Director of the Institute of Contemporary History in London, in "Idea of Europe Runs Out of Gas" in the January 20, 1974 issue of *The New York Times Magazine* (pp. 12–13+).

The future of NATO depends on its members reaching a new consensus on its purpose, points out Robert Ball in "NATO Needs a Fresh Breeze" in the February 1974 issue of *Fortune* (pp. 104–09+).

The diplomatic workings of United Nations committees are revealed by former U.N. delegate William Buckley in "Jamil Baroody Speaketh a Mouthful" in the September 1974 issue of *Esquire* (pp. 110–13+).

The former chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, J. William Fulbright, comments on past and present world affairs in "J. W. Fulbright: Reflections on a Troubled World" in the January 11, 1975 issue of *Saturday Review* (pp. 12–16+).

How has the role of the United States in the United Nations changed since the world body's founding 30 years ago? Harvard professor and U.S. ambassador Daniel Moynihan offers some insights in "The United States in Opposition" in the March 1975 issue of *Commentary* (pp. 31–44).

A wide-ranging interview with Secretary of State Henry Kissinger can be found in "We are Moving Into a New World" in the June 23, 1975 issue of *U.S. News and World Report* (pp. 20–24+).

Books to Review

Selections from American Issues Forum Study Guide, Vol. II.

Roots of War by Richard Barnet. An analysis of the motivations behind American foreign policy in the post-1945 era shows the similarities of cold war attitudes to isolationism.

The Alliance That Lost Its Way by Jerome Levinson and Juan de Onís. This detailed account shows why the Kennedy-Johnson administrations failed to remove the causes of revolution in Latin America.

Selections from the American Library Association Bicentennial Reading List.

UN: The First Twenty-Five Years by Clark M. Eichelberger. Published on the 25th anniversary of the United Nations, this book is an introduction to the structure and achievements of the world body. After reviewing the UN's role in collective security, disarmament, human freedoms, and other problems, Eichelberger closes with suggestions for helping the world organization meet its goals of world unity and peace.

The Crippled Giant by J. William Fulbright. Criticizing American foreign policy, Fulbright recommends a return to the international ideals of Woodrow Wilson and the UN Charter. After discussing the origins of the U.S. presence in Vietnam and the Middle East, he argues that our interventionism will also bring grave domestic consequences.

Suggested Discussion Questions

Has America used its diplomatic strength to advance the cause of world peace and justice or has it been used only to further our own interests?

Is America's current posture in world affairs one of isolationsim, interventionism, or internationalism? Should this posture be altered?

What role does public opinion play in the formation of foreign policy? Have U.S. citizens and their elected representatives abdicated their role in favor of foreign policy making by the President and the State Department?

How has America's role in international associations like NATO and the United Nations changed since their founding after World War II?

What is the best way to combine the four basic elements of foreign affairs—the military, the humanitarian, the economic, and the diplomatic—in light of the present state of world affairs?

Program Suggestions and Resources

In Favor of Stability

In recent years, the United States, born itself of revolution, has gained a world-wide reputation as anti-revolutionary—that is, as a supporter of *status quo* instead of change. For a view of one man's personal encounter with this confusing aspect of American foreign policy, show "Dreams and Nightmares," a film that focuses on U.S. relations with Spain. Following the film, invite a history teacher from a local high school, community college, or university to discuss the evolution of the present American policy toward revolution in the world.

The Role of Discovery

Charges that the United States is an imperialist power are frequently heard around the world. Does a review of America's history in world affairs substantiate these charges? Invite a teacher of history or political science from your local high school, community college, or university to discuss this issue with your group. A question-and-answer period could follow in which members explore with each other their personal perceptions of the United States' role in the world.

Good Will Ambassadors

Many businesses and civic and religious organizations that work abroad serve as unofficial American ambassadors of good will. Invite representatives of these groups to discuss with your members their foreign projects and the relationships of these activities to American world policy. Guests could include representatives of civic groups, religious organizations, and local businesses with interests in other countries.

UPI COMPIX

Black students are bussed back to Roxbury from White South Boston under police protection, September 1974.

GROWING UP IN AMERICA

A unique mixing of peoples and religions, a virgin land, lofty ideals, a new republican form of government—together, these elements gave promise that a new kind of individual, the American, would emerge to work and trade and take his place in the world. From the outset certain social forces and institutions also molded our society and its members. We shall look at those forces this month and ask what sort of person they manage to create. *Is* there such a thing as the "American character"? What part have our families, our schools, our churches and our communities played over the years in developing that character? All of those forces are now in the midst of tremendous change. Does it follow that the American character, whatever it may be, will also change tremendously? The American has always been an optimist, convinced that just about anything is possible. Is that changing, too, as vistas narrow and frontiers close down? What is it that keeps the

American moving all the time—as if motion were almost an end in itself? Is it a restless search for new frontiers, a hunger for challenge? Where have we, as Americans, planted our deep moral roots?

—from the American Issues Forum Calendar of Topics

THE AMERICAN FAMILY
April 4 to April 10

"The hand that rocks the cradle/is the hand that rules the world."

—William Ross Wallace

Background

From American Issues Forum: A Courses by Newspaper Reader, Vol. II.

"A Well-Ordered Family." This sermon by minister Benjamin Wadsworth presents a view of the colonial family as the central institution for preserving social order and transmitting social ideas.

"Up From the Kitchen Floor." Feminist Betty Friedan traces both her own role in the women's movement and changes in the roles of women in the past decade.

From Popular Periodicals

Life for children and their parents at the turn of the century is captured in a pictorial essay titled "Children's Hour: Growing Up in Victorian America" in the June 1975 issue of *American Heritage* (pp. 42–51).

The myriad forms of the family and its life style are explored in "Family: The Blood Red Inkblot," a symposium in the May 1975 issue of *Harper's* magazine (pp. 3–10+).

Old-fashioned, once-in-a-lifetime, 'till-death-do-us-part marriage may be on the rocks, but remarriage is booming, according to author Leslie A. Westoff in "Two-time Winners" in the April 10, 1975 issue of *The New York Times Magazine* (pp. 10–11+).

Psychoanalyst Leslie Farber describes the powerful rituals that characterize family gatherings in "Family Reunion" in the January 1974 issue of *Commentary* (pp. 38–42).

Many affluent, educated young people are living in groups, sharing homes, expenses, and special interests, according to "Group Living Catches On and Goes Middle Class" in the February 25, 1974 issue of *U.S. News and World Report* (pp. 38–40+).

Why has the birth rate in America dropped to an all-time low? Author Garry Wills offers his explanation in "What? What? Are Young Americans Afraid to Have Kids?" in the March 1974 issue of *Esquire* (pp. 80–81+).

Books to Review

Selections from the bibliography in American Issues Forum Study Guide, Vol. II.

Divorce in the Progressive Era by William L. O'Neill. This study looks at divorce and attitudes toward it at a moment of significant social change.

The Child and the Republic by Bernard Wishy. Changing attitudes toward child rearing between 1830 and 1900 are chronicled through a review of manuals, fiction, child guidance books, children's literature, and periodicals.

Selections from the American Library Association Bicentennial Reading List.

I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings and *Gather Together in My Name* by Maya Angelou. From rural Arkansas to San Francisco, these two volumes of autobiography treat the experiences of a Southern black girl who combines courage and common sense to create her own life.

The Future of the Family edited by Louise K. Howe. Through a variety of essays by diverse writers, a picture emerges of the changing structure of the American family and its response to social forces. The roles of family members, reports from Israel and Sweden, and studies of lower-income families are included.

Suggested Discussion Questions

What do families today have in common with families in colonial times? What differences are there?

How did the changes that led to the modern family evolve? To what extent has the family influenced social change and to what extent has it been influenced by social change?

What roles does the modern family play?

Where have individuals turned to meet needs once met by families? Has the family been replaced?

What does the future hold for the family? How will its structure and purpose change?

Is there still a rationale for maintaining family structure in today's society?

Program Suggestions and Resources

Different Strokes for Different Folks

Family life in America today is diverse in form and structure. For a glimpse of three alternatives, view "Sylvia, Fran, and Joy," a filmed conversation with three women pursuing contrasting, yet viable family life styles. Following the film, a local social worker or family counselor can be invited to comment on the ways family life styles adapt to meet the changing needs of family members.

Single Parent Families

In today's society, more and more families consist of only one parent and his or her children from past marriages. Invite a group of single parents from your group or community to share in informal discussions of the ups and downs of their particular family life style. Explore the efforts and problems of the single parent in attempting to create an extended "family" and consider ways your group might support or assist their efforts.

Communal Harmony

Communes are frequently touted as the family life style of the future. Explore this alternative by inviting members of communes in your area to discuss with your group the goals and methods of their "families." Explore their reasons for forming the commune and the stresses and strains they have endured. A local social worker or family counselor might be asked to serve as moderator.

A Lasting Influence

No one would deny the tremendous impact of family members on individual development. As a prelude to a group discussion, view "My Childhood, Part I: Hubert Humphrey's South Dakota" and "Part II: James Baldwin's Harlem," two films in which now-famous individuals

discuss the impact of their vastly different childhoods. Following the film, members can be encouraged to describe ways their family life influenced their growth as individuals and their present choice of family life style.

EDUCATION FOR WORK AND LIFE
April 11 to April 17

"The aim of education should be to teach a child to think, not what to think."

—John Dewey

Background

From American Issues Forum: A Courses by Newspaper Reader, Vol. II.

"That Learning May Not Be Buried." In this excerpt from the Massachusetts School Law, 1647, provisions are made for public schools for the first time in America.

"It Takes a Right Smart Man to be Schoolmaster." The atmosphere of a one-room, rural schoolhouse is captured by novelist Edward Eggleston.

Transforming the School. Reasons for the decline of progressive education are explored by Lawrence A. Cremin, a historian and university president.

"Death at an Early Age." Jonathan Kozol strikingly portrays the conditions in a Boston ghetto school and their impact on students.

From Popular Periodicals

Texas Observer publisher Ronnie Dugger paints a revealing portrait of the University of Texas as a business enterprise in "Counting House of Academe" in the March 1974 issue of *Harper's* magazine (pp. 70–74+).

The sixties dealt a blow to discourse, objectivity, and freedom that has left the university in a state of "twittering inertia," argues Ronald Berman, Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities, in "Unquiet Quiet on Campus" in the February 10, 1974 issue of *The New York Times Magazine* (pp. 14–15+).

If the cost of four years of college were invested, you could retire as a millionaire, argues author Caroline Bird in "College—the Dumbest Investment of All" in the September 1974 issue of *Esquire* (pp. 102+).

John P. Blessington, a school headmaster, urges parents to resume their role as teachers of the young in "Home as the Ultimate Classroom" in the September 22, 1974 issue of *The New York Times Magazine* (pp. 76+).

Frederick L. Redefer, a professor emeritus in higher education, challenges educators to create a system of learning for students faced with building a new social order in "Call to the Educators of America" in the July 27, 1974 issue of *Saturday Review/World* (pp. 49–50).

Books to Review

Selections from the bibliography of American Issues Forum Study Guide, Vol. II.

The Transformation of the School by Lawrence A. Cremin. This is a major, modern treatment of the impact of progressive education.

Class, Bureaucracy, and Schools by Michael B. Katz. In these three essays, Katz argues that the failure of the American educational system has historic roots in the methods and objectives of nineteenth-century educational reformers.

Selections from the American Library Association Bicentennial Reading List.

Growing Up Absurd by Paul Goodman. As a spokesman for outraged victims and witnesses of the system, Goodman argues that education stupefies and conditions youth to accept the strictures of so-called respectability. (His discussion of antidotes is one of the earliest and best.)

Manchild in the Promised Land by Claude Brown. This street-wise autobiography of an American black writer conveys the staccato rhythm of Harlem's most destructive forces. Drugs, gang violence, and other dehumanizing elements forged the characters of Brown and his friends in neighborhoods where schools were the least significant factors in a youth's education.

Suggested Discussion Questions

What is the purpose of public education in today's society? Does this purpose differ from its purpose in the past? If so, how?

Has the education system in America lived up to its goals? Would you alter these goals? If so, how?

Is local control of schools still a reality today? Is this concept outmoded in light of current financial crises and efforts to secure individual equality?

What are the roles of institutions of higher learning? How have they reconciled the need for traditional learning with the need for job training? Are these two needs necessarily at odds with each other?

What steps must be taken to meet the increasing demand for continuing education, life-long learning?

Program Suggestions and Resources

The Education System

In every area of the country today, a variety of schools and colleges has been established to meet the numerous educational needs of the community. Invite the heads of these institutions to discuss with your group their goals, their place in the education system, and their cooperative efforts, if any. Educational leaders can be selected from private and public schools ranging from elementary to secondary and post-secondary.

Alternative Classrooms, Alternative Schools

Dissatisfied with the philosophy and mode of operation of traditional public education, many modern educators have devised alternatives. Explore some of these new educational methods by viewing "More than a School," a film that looks at a community effort to form a free school within the public school structure. Following the film, invite local teachers from either public or private schools in which innovative educational methods are being used to describe these methods and the philosophy behind them.

Equal Educational Opportunities

The current controversy surrounding busing represents a major dilemma for educators—that is, how to provide equal educational opportunities to all students regardless of race, income level, or community. Invite local and state education leaders to discuss alternatives being considered to equalize educational opportunities. Guests could include a member of the state board of education, a high-ranking official of the state department of education, the heads or members of the state legislature's committees on

appropriations and education, and your area's representatives in Congress.

Learning for What?

Are students in school to learn to think, to learn to be productive citizens, to learn a trade? Explore the issues surrounding the much-debated purpose of education in a panel discussion. Panel members could include high school and college counselors, a teacher of education philosophy at a local community college, college, or university, and the heads of local vocational schools.

Sexism in the Classroom

Women's rights organizations have accused the public school system of fostering sexism among students by stressing the traditional roles of the sexes. For insights into this issue, view "Sugar and Spice," a film that surveys efforts at non-sexist education in three East Coast schools. Following the film, conduct a discussion on sexism in local classrooms with members of women's groups, concerned teachers, and high-school guidance counselors.

"IN GOD WE TRUST" April 18 to April 24

"If we will not be governed by God, we must be governed by tyrants."

—William Penn

Background

From American Issues Forum: A Courses by Newspaper Reader, Vol. II.

"Made-in-America" Religion. The relationship between revivalism and frontier democracy and their impact on the more established churches of the East are discussed by historian Bernard A. Weisberger.

A Catholic Boyhood. Author Garry Wills reminisces about growing up as a member of America's minority religion.

"Churches and the Future of Religion." Harvey Cox addresses the fundamental question of the proper role of churches in today's society and in the future.

From Popular Periodicals

Laymen like Eugene McCarthy, William F. Buckley, Jr., Michael Novak, and Garry Wills comment on the state of traditional Christian belief today in "Christians, Why Do You Still Believe in God?" in the April 1975 issue of *Harper's* magazine (pp. 94–95+).

Congregations of different denominations are working together, but not as a result of a formal agreement to unite, according to "As Old Barriers Between Churches Break Down" in the February 17, 1975 issue of *U.S. News and World Report* (pp. 55–56+).

Books to Review

Selections from the bibliography in American Issues Forum Study Guide, Vol. II.

Righteous Empire by Martin Marty. This is a prize-winning study of Protestantism in America.

Modern Revivalism by William G. McLoughlin. The techniques and beliefs of major revival leaders, including Charles Grandison Finney and Billy Sunday, are analyzed in this book.

Selections from the American Library Association Bicentennial Reading List.

Inherit the Wind by Jerome Lawrence and Robert E. Lee. When Tennessee schoolteacher John Scopes was accused of teaching the ideas of evolution, his trial became the arena for a dramatic confrontation between the forces of fundamentalism represented by William Jennings Bryan and the advocates of free thought and speech represented by Clarence Darrow. This play is based on the trial.

Protestant, Catholic, Jew by Will Herberg. This sympathetic history of three major religions emphasizes the unique qualities of each and investigates their place in American society. Herberg views Protestantism, Catholicism, and Judaism as religions of democracy which affect and are affected by the American ethic.

Suggested Discussion Questions

What do you believe is a proper role for religion in our society? Is this role different from the role of the church during the past 200 years?

Is the separation of church and state still a reality in America? What is an appropriate relationship between government and organized religion?

Has the search for ecumenism been abandoned? Are there any signs that point to church unity in the future?

Have recent innovations in services and programs succeeded in drawing people back to organized religion? Is additional reform necessary?

Can religion survive in an increasingly skeptical, unconventional age? What challenges will it face in the future and what responses are crucial?

Program Suggestions and Resources

Religion for the Young

Ever since prayer was banned in public schools, organized religion has struggled to find new ways to bring its teachings to the young. Invite religious leaders to your meeting to discuss their attempts to reach young people of all ages. Group members can be encouraged to share their recollections of religious training in their youth and its impact on the role religion plays in their adult lives.

In the Service of God

One reason organized religions have survived thousands of years is that individuals have constantly dedicated their lives to the service of God. For insights into this commitment, view "The Cloistered Nun," a film that goes inside a convent to portray the activities and beliefs of a group of sisters. Following the film, invite local religious leaders to share their personal reasons for their commitment. For contrasting views, invite individuals who have withdrawn from the religious community to share their beliefs and experiences.

Away from the Straight and Narrow

Today, organized religion no longer dominates the nation's moral code as it once did in the past. Given this decline in influence, what is the role of modern religions? Invite religious leaders to comment on this question in discussions with your group. All participants, both panelists and group members, can be encouraged to comment on the role religion has played in their lives, both in the past and at present, and to speculate on its future influence.

Searching for Something to Believe

In recent years the public's interest in Eastern religions, astrology, tarot, and the occult has grown. What is the basis for this interest? Does it represent a dissatisfaction with organized religion or is it a novel inquiry into ways to command personal destiny? Invite a teacher of psychology, social science, or religion from your local high school, community college, or university to speculate on the questions raised above and to provide an historical perspective on the issue. Members who have a particular interest in any of these newly popular belief systems can be encouraged to explain their involvement.

A SENSE OF BELONGING
April 25 to May 1

"Any old place I hang my hat is home."

—William Jerome

Background

From American Issues Forum: A Courses by Newspaper Reader, Vol. II.

Small Town, Fashionable Family. Novelist Booth Tarkington portrays life among residents of the "Nob-Hill" section of a small town around the turn of the century.

From Popular Periodicals

Small towns and rural areas have recently scored huge population gains. To find out why, *U.S. News and World Report* interviews residents of six small towns in "Out of the Cities, Back to the Country" in the March 31, 1975 issue (pp. 46–50).

Are all things possible with love? The famous, the scholarly, and the just-plain folks comment in "Love: The Tickle and The Rub," a symposium in the May 1974 issue of *Harper's* magazine (pp. 3–10+).

Life on a family farm today is all risks and hard work, according to author James A. Sugar in "Family Farm Ain't What it Used to Be" in the September 1974 issue of *National Geographic* (pp. 390–411).

Urban dwellers describe their mixed feelings toward city living in "Life In the Big City—Some Like It, Some Hate It" in the August 12, 1975 issue of *U.S. News and World Report* (pp. 43–46).

Life for children in Harlem is composed of unhinged families, inert agencies, and mean streets, argues Ned O'Gorman in "Children" in the June 1, 1975 issue of *The New York Times Magazine*. (pp. 10–11+).

Author Willard R. Espy takes a nostalgic look at his family life in a Pacific Northwest boom town at the turn of the century in "Grampa's Village" in the February 1975 issue of *American Heritage* (pp. 60–63+).

Books to Review

Selections from the bibliography of American Issues Forum Study Guide, Vol. II.

The Eclipse of Community by Maurice R. Stein. This review of famous twentieth-century community studies examines the relationships between urbanization, bureaucratization, and industrialization that have affected the value and capacities of individualism.

The Idea of Fraternity in America by Wilson Carey McWilliams. Spanning the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries, this book explores the meaning of social philosophy in America, paying particular attention to efforts to reconcile liberal theories of individual achievement and religious dreams of a community held together by ties of affection and brotherhood.

Selections from the American Library Association Bicentennial Reading List.

Nobody Ever Died of Old Age by Sharon R. Curtin. The role of the elderly, often sick and poor, is pathetic in our society, where only youth and beauty count. Seeking reforms, Ms. Curtin urges old people to take charge of their destinies, organize for legislation, and experiment with new styles of living.

On Becoming a Person by Carl Rogers. The search for total personality is represented in 21 essays by the leading figure in patient-oriented psychotherapy. Rogers visualizes a whole, integrated personality as a realizable goal for everyone, and in that goal he sees a larger social significance that could make a healthier society.

Suggested Discussion Questions

What are the sources of Americans' extraordinary mobility?

Is this mobility an asset in developing our national character and goals?

What are the sources of our sense of community today? Are these comparable in strength and support to roots provided by particular places in the past?

What is the effect of mass communications and transportation on our communities?

Program Suggestions and Resources

Where Are You Going?

Chances are very good that most of your group's members have already moved several times during their lives. Take a close look at this mobility by asking each person to chart his or her various moves. Several of these people, with contrasting life styles (some who may still live in their home town, others who have moved every year) could be asked to comment on their choice of life style and its impact on their lives. The moderator of this discussion could be a psychologist or social science teacher from a local high school, community college, or university.

Everyone for Himself

Has the mobility of contemporary Americans resulted in an aliented, unrooted, selfish society? Expose this issue by viewing "The Detached Americans," a provocative film that probes the psychology of people who refuse to involve themselves with others. Following the film, a panel of local social workers, religious leaders and psychologists can lead a group discussion of the conclusions drawn from the film about modern society. Emphasis can be placed on the possibility and methods of reversing some of the trends described.

Where I Belong

Since Americans move so much, community is no longer described solely by a place of residence. Invite a social scientist or geographer from a local high school, community college, or university to discuss the scope of modern communities with your group. Your guest can

encourage members to define and evaluate their various communities. Especially interesting will be the group's comparison of modern communities to the "place" communities of our past.

Down on the Farm

Perhaps no life style has more romantic connotations to the American public than farming. Challenge these assumptions by arranging a trip to a local farm. Encourage the farmer to present a realistic portrait of his life style and to evaluate his choice. Group members who may have grown up on farms should be encouraged to offer their perspectives.

Vol. I. "Go Ahead!" No. 3.
Davy Crockett's
18 ALMANACK, 37
OF WILD SPORTS IN THE WEST.
Life in the Backwoods, & Sketches of Texas.
O KENTUCKY! THE HUNTERS OF KENTUCKY!!!
Nashville, Tennessee. Published by the heirs of Col. Crockett.

Cover from *Davy Crockett's Almanack, 1837.*

LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS

America, finally, is a dream; or perhaps a myth. Archibald MacLeish puts it another way. "America is promises," he says, and its promises have always motivated its citizens. The promise of self-fulfillment, of being free and independent. The promise of having enough to live decently. The promise of pleasure, of a life satisfying beyond mere drudgery. The promise of being new, young, in the forefront of an adventure, on top of things. The "unalienable rights," ultimately, of "Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness." These dreams, these purposes brought millions to America's shores. Spurred by these goals, newcomers helped expand the country's industry, its trade, its borders, its wealth, its influence. In the closing weeks of this Bicentennial Year, American Issues Forum will look at some of these driving ideas and ask how important they are in our own American lives. Individualism, success, happiness, involvement—are these worthwhile goals? Or are they too self-centered, too trivial, too little concerned with the real problems of mankind? Are they illusions—promises fulfilled only occasionally, goals only rarely attained? Taken together, do they comprise a kind of American profile, a national characteristic? Or do they result in a caricature? Is the dream still valid? Or was it never real?

—from the American Issues Forum Calendar of Topics

THE RUGGED INDIVIDUALIST
May 2 to May 8

"If a man does not keep pace with his companions, perhaps it is because he hears a different drummer."
—Henry David Thoreau, *Walden*

Background

Selections from American Issues Forum: A Courses by Newspaper Reader, Vol. II.

Folk Hero: The Frontiersman. This excerpt from the Crockett Almanacs captures the humor and legend of the "larger-than-life" individuals on the frontier.

"Destroying the Individual." Playright and author William Saroyan maintains that individualism is still possible as long as the individual wills it.

From Popular Periodicals

Athletes are the heroes in today's "U.S. of Sports," argues William F. Buckley, Jr., in "Reflections on the Phenomenon" in the October 1974 issue of *Esquire* (pp. 125–28+).

The story of a fireman who became a hero by doing simply what he was supposed to do is recalled by New York City fireman and author Dennis Smith in "Report From Ladder 17" in the November 17, 1974 issue of *The New York Times Magazine* (p. 151).

Several celebrities describe how they threw off conformity and established their own look in "Finding a Personal Style" in the February 1974 issue of *MS* magazine (pp. 45–51+).

Adventures, the stuff from which heroes emerge, are recalled by people from all walks of life in "Adventure: Into Outlaw Territory," a symposium in the November 1974 issue of *Harper's* magazine (pp. 3–10+).

Books to Review

Selections from the bibliography of American Issues Forum Study Guide, Vol. II.

People of Plenty by David M. Potter. Using insights gained from anthropologists, sociologists, and psychologists, Potter argues that there is a relationship between the American character and economic abundance.

The Lonely Crowd by David Riesman. This popular analysis of personality change in America assesses the state of American individualism and laments the decline of the "inner-directed" American.

Selections from the American Library Association Bicentennial Reading List

The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman by Ernest Gaines. This novel takes the form of a transcript of tape-recorded interviews with a powerful 110-year-old black woman born before the Civil War and alive to experience the beginning of the civil rights movement in the 1960s. It is a moving portrait of a personal endurance which speaks for American blacks generally.

Walden by Henry David Thoreau. In the early nineteenth century the poet-naturalist built himself a shelter beside Walden Pond in order to cultivate a bean field and his thoughts. Thoreau tells of this simple experiment with an energetic personal style, unmistakably that of one who believed that man's destiny lies in his knowledge of himself.

Suggested Discussion Questions

What are the various definitions and modes of individuality expressed today? How have these forms evolved?

What is an appropriate balance between individuality and social responsibility?

Although America has a number of romanticized "rugged individuals," is individuality possible for the majority of Americans? Do Americans in fact prefer to conform rather than be different?

What are the biggest threats to individuality in today's society? How can they be overcome?

Is the current drive for equality a boon or a hindrance to the pursuit of individuality?

Program Suggestions and Resources

Individual Heroes

Whom do you admire most and why? Ask the members of your group to select the three individuals whom they consider heroes. Then ask a local psychologist to lead a discussion on the significance of the people chosen. You might want to record this particular discussion as part of an oral history of your group.

A Different Drummer

Perhaps no person exemplifies the rugged individual in American society better than does Henry Thoreau. Explore the life and times of this American folk hero by first viewing "Henry David Thoreau: The Beat of a Different Drummer," a film that includes readings from his works as well as scenes from Walden Pond, where he lived. Following the film, ask a teacher of American literature or philosophy from a local high school, community college, or university to comment on the relevance of Thoreau's philosophy to those searching for individuality today.

Heroes Past and Present

Are there any heroes today who come close to matching those who stand larger than life in America's past? As a reminder about some of these past heroes, view "The Legend of John Henry" and "The Legend of Paul Bunyan." Following these short, animated films, convene a panel to discuss the question "Where Have All the Heroes Gone?" Panelists could include a local psychologist, a high-school or college counselor, a history teacher from a local high school, community college, or university, and a minister, priest, or rabbi.

Lost in History

Many minority groups and women's groups are rediscovering their own heroes and heroines, whose lives, until now, were an inspiration to few people. Invite representatives of black, native American, Chicano, ethnic American, and women's groups to share with your group the histories of these new-found heroic figures. Guests and members can be encouraged to comment on the importance of these heroes to both minority groups and women.

Mass-produced Society

In an era of mass communication, mass production, and mass consumption, is it possible to maintain individuality? Ask your members to select local citizens whose individuality, they believe, has survived. Invite these people to your meeting to discuss their personal efforts to be individuals. Members should be encouraged to describe their own struggles for individuality.

THE DREAM OF SUCCESS
May 9 to May 15

"Hitch your wagon to a star."

—Ralph Waldo Emerson

Background

Selections from American Issues Forum: A Courses by Newspaper Reader, Vol. II.

The "Other-Directed" Society. Sociologist David Riesman describes the "other-directed" American—a middle-class urban dweller whose behavior and feelings are shaped by his or her peer group.

From Popular Periodicals

There are plenty of examples in history of women who don't fear success, argues essayist and critic Sonya Rudikoff in "Women and Success" in the October 1974 issue of *Commentary* (pp. 49–59).

Author George Orwell deplored "the arrogance, violence, manipulation, commercialism and a national disease called power" that he saw in Americans, according to professor Katherine Byrne in "George Orwell and the American Character" in the April 12, 1974 issue of *Commonweal* (pp. 135–37).

Books to Review

Selections from the bibliography of American Issues Forum Study Guide, Vol. II.

Apostles of the Self-Made Man by John G. Cawelti. Using both fiction and non-fiction, this book traces the idea of success in America from the age of Jefferson through the twentieth century.

The Dream of Success by Kenneth S. Lynn. Analyzing a number of late nineteenth-century novelists, including Frank Norris, Theodore Dreiser, and Robert Herrick, Lynn points out the strains and tensions created by the era's emphasis on economic ambition and personal expression.

Selections from the American Library Association Bicentennial Reading List

The Great Gatsby by F. Scott Fitzgerald. Jay Gatsby is an American success story: rich, handsome (if a bit coarse), and influential. He also is still in love with a woman who deserted him. Amidst a life of conspicuous consumption on Long Island, their encounter leads to tragedy and death.

What Makes Sammy Run? by Budd Schulberg. Fictional Sammy Glick has become the prototype of the cruel, crass servant to fame and fortune in Hollywood's dog-eat-dog setting. From firsthand knowledge of the movie community and its people, Schulberg has produced a seamy undercoating to the American success story.

Suggested Discussion Questions

What are the measures of success—fame, wealth, power, self-respect, peace of mind?

What are the sources of Americans' perennial drive for success? Has this pursuit improved or detracted from our national character?

In what ways has this drive for success influenced America's social and foreign policies?

Would America be as successful as it has been if individual Americans were not bent on success?

Is success necessary to achieve personal happiness?

Program Suggestions and Resources

Making It

One life style that has come to symbolize material success is that of Playboy magnate Hugh Hefner. For a glimpse into this often envied world of the best of everything, view "The Most," a film that visits a party at the Playboy Mansion in Chicago where intimates of Mr. Hefner comment on his personality and his success. Following the film, conduct a group discussion of the issues raised about the superficiality and sometimes phoniness of this material success.

Women and Success

Although it has been suggested that many women subconsciously avoid success, others have effectively demonstrated that women are, in fact, denied opportunities for success. Investigate the barriers women face today by viewing "Anything You Want To Be," a short film that demonstrates the difficulties women face in achieving their goals. Following the film, invite representatives of local women's groups to discuss steps being taken to remove these barriers through legislation as well as through consciousness raising.

Success Imperative

Americans' drive for success has certainly influenced the country's goals. Assess the impact of this drive throughout the nation's history in a panel discussion of "Success and the American Way: 200 Years of Progress?" Panelists could include teachers of history and political science at a local high school, community college, or university, a representative of a local minority group, an area social worker, and a minister, priest, or rabbi.

Success, American Style

The American style of success—a sizeable income, a nice house and cars, a perfect family—is envied all over the world. But, as many will testify, this pinnacle has deep flaws. For a view of this paradox, view ". . . But What if the Dream Comes True," a film that takes you inside the lives of a successful, upper-middle-class family. After the film, invite a local social worker to lead your group in a discussion of the way this dream permeates our society at all levels and the problems it creates.

THE PURSUIT OF PLEASURE
May 16 to May 22

"Into each life some rain must fall."
—Henry Wadsworth Longfellow

Background

Selections from American Issues Forum: A Courses by Newspaper Reader, Vol. II.

"A Sad Heart at the Supermarket." Randall Jarrell, a poet, decries the values of the mass culture which he claims are the antithesis of those of a true artist.

The Culture Explosion. Futurist and social critic Alvin Toffler applauds the advent of the culture explosion and the culture consumer.

From Popular Periodicals

Is it possible today to distinguish between high culture and low culture? In fact is all American culture mass culture? A panel of distinguished critics, artists, and journalists attempt to answer these questions in "Culture and the Present Moment," a round-table discussion, in the December 1974 issue of *Commentary* (pp. 96–98+).

Three Americans describe their leisure-time pursuits in "Leisure 75: Ideas for an Indecisive Summer" in the May 3, 1975 issue of *Saturday Review* (pp. 43–46+).

Methods for escaping boredom are captured in a photo essay in the December 1974 issue of *Esquire* (pp. 173–75).

Books to Review

Selections from the bibliography of American Issues Forum Study Guide, Vol. II.

A History of Recreation by Foster Rhea Dulles. This book surveys American play over three centuries.

The Unembarrassed Muse by Russel B. Nye. This is a recent survey of the historical forms of American popular culture.

Selections from the American Library Association Bicentennial Reading List

The Glory of Their Times by Lawrence S. Ritter. "Whoever wants to know the heart and mind of America had better learn baseball," Jacques Barzun said. One could not do better than this book about the early days of the game as told by the men who played it.

On the Road by Jack Kerouac. Turning on with drugs and restless wanderings across the country in search of meaning and experience characterize this testament of the beat generation. Kerouac is the prophet of the emotionally and geographically displaced.

Suggested Discussion Questions

Are Americans today preoccupied by the pursuit of pleasure? Is this pursuit really a search for self-fulfillment?

Macmillan Films, Inc.
34 MacQuesten Parkway South
Mt. Vernon, New York 10550

McGraw-Hill Films
1221 Avenue of the Americas
New York, New York 10020

National Council of Churches
Broadcasting and Film Commission
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

New Day Films
P.O. Box 315
Franklin Lakes, New Jersey 07417

New Yorker Films
43 West 61st Street
New York, New York 10023

Odeon Films
1619 Broadway, Room 1001
New York, New York 10019

The Peace Corps
806 Connecticut Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20525

Phoenix Films, Inc.
470 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10016

Pyramid Films
Box 1048
Santa Monica, California 90406

rbc films
933 N. La Brea Avenue
Los Angeles, California 90038

Time-Life Films
100 Eisenhower Drive
Paramus, New Jersey 07652

Tricontinental Film Center
333 Avenue of the Americas
New York, New York 10014

University of California Extension Media Center
Berkeley, California 94720

Happiness? An escape from boredom?

The pleasure industries—sports and entertainment—are booming while cultural pursuits have declined. What does this phenomenon suggest about American society?

Has America derived a separate and distinct culture? If not, is this goal realistic in our shrinking, increasingly homogenized world?

Can so-called high culture survive in an era dominated by the mass culture of television, sports, and movies?

What, in your opinion, is an appropriate relationship between culture and government?

Program Suggestions and Resources

The Arts

In great numbers, cultural arts organizations are turning to all levels of government for financial support. Explore the state of the arts in your area by inviting representatives of local and statewide arts organizations to discuss their goals and financial needs. Ways your group can assist can also be explored.

A Competitive Business

Sports, always a national pastime, is more and more a powerful, competitive industry. Go behind the weekly games of the sports world in a panel discussion on "Big Time Sports: Everybody Loses?" Panelists could include coaches from your local high school, college, or university, a teacher of social science, former professional athletes, and the owners of local sports teams.

How Much of the Dream Comes True?

For women, too often happiness, success, even self-esteem are rooted in their physical appearance. Assess the impact of this "beauty culture" by viewing "Beauty Knows No Pain," a behind-the-scenes look at the training and testing of Kilgore College Rangerette aspirants. Following the film, invite a social science teacher from a local high school, community college or university to discuss the issues raised in the film in light of the modern-day women's movement.

The Good Life

What are Americans really seeking in their unceasing pursuit of pleasure? Explore this issue with your group by viewing "What Is the Good Life?"—a film of man-in-the-street interviews on the measures of "the good life." Following the film, lead a group discussion to determine your group's definition of "the good life" and their evaluation of this pursuit. You might want to record this discussion as part of an oral history of your group's activities.

THE FRUITS OF WISDOM
May 23 to May 29

"The American lives even more for his goals, for his future, than the European. Life for him is always becoming, never being."

—Albert Einstein, *Ideas and Opinions*

Background

From American Issues Forum: A Courses by Newspaper Reader, Vol. II.

"A Vast, Intellectual Fusion." Writing in 1867, American critic and author Henry James cites the advantages of being free from a single cultural tradition.

From Popular Periodicals

Pulitzer Prize-winning author René Dubos calls for a future life style that seeks qualitative change rather than quantitative growth in "Recycling Social Man" in the August 24, 1974 issue of *Saturday Review/World* (pp. 8–10+).

Novelist Fletcher Knebel examines many tenets of the American dream and finds them wanting in "Greening of Fletcher Knebel," in the September 15, 1974 issue of *The New York Times Magazine* (pp. 36–37+).

The Roaring Twenties have saddled America with an array of social headaches that now seem monstrous and incurable, according to educator Robert Cowley in "Jazz Age: A Shadow on the Seventies" in the May 17, 1975 issue of *Saturday Review* (pp. 12–14+).

Have recent events transformed the "American Dream" into the "American Nightmare"? Yes, says professor and author George P. Elliott in "Waking From the American Dream" in the November 16, 1974 issue of *The Nation* (pp. 491–95).

Books to Review

Selections from the bibliography of American Issues Forum Study Guide, Vol. II.

An Unsettled People by Rowland T. Berthoff. In this comprehensive study, American history is organized into periods based on social structure, value systems, and the effect of changing experiences.

Unquiet Eagle by Fred Somkin. This study of American values and moods in the first half of the nineteenth century pays particular attention to nostalgia, time, space, and prosperity as problems in the creation of a democratic community.

Selections from the American Library Association Bicentennial Reading List.

The Teachings of Don Juan by Carlos Castenada. A young anthropologist is apprenticed to a Yaqui sorcerer and embarks on a spiritual journey. The first part of the book is devoted to Don Jaun's transcendental techniques and rituals; the second part is Castenada's attempt to infuse his mysterious, psychedelic experiences with meaning.

The Greening of America by Charles A. Reich. The social revolution in America is already under way, according to Reich. He laments the United States as a corporate state intent on demolishing human values, but he believes the youth of the seventies are the pioneers of an ideal society that is just around the corner.

Suggested Discussion Questions

Have Americans become so intent on their pursuit of the future that they have ignored their past?

It has become evident that Americans have recklessly abused their finite resources. What steps can be taken to reverse this trend?

Is the American life style out of tune with the realities of the world? Do we have an obligation to tone down our life style and share greater amounts of our resources with the rest of the world?

What, in your opinion, is the "American Dream" today? Is this the version that should be conveyed to each succeeding generation or should it be modified to be compatible with future realities?

Program Suggestions and Resources

Progress

America is generally regarded as the most technologically advanced country in the world; yet most Americans agree this technology has its drawbacks. Explore the benefits and burdens of technological advances by viewing "But Is This Progress?"—a documentary that examines the impact of technology on three generations of people in San Jose, California. Following the film, lead a group discussion on the role of technology in the future of America. Members can be encouraged to share their own personal experiences of living in a technological world.

Abundance

The indulgent life style enjoyed by Americans, envied throughout the world, has come under increasing attack for its excesses. Begin assessing this issue by viewing "The More Abundant Life," the last segment of Alistair Cooke's America series, in which the impact of the affluent society is investigated. Following the film, convene a panel to discuss Cooke's statement that the state of American society today is "a race between decadence and vitality." Panelists could include local religious leaders, representatives of minority groups and environmental groups, and a teacher of history or social science from a local high school, community college, or university.

Mistakes

Have Americans learned anything from their national mistakes, some of which have displayed a lack of wisdom and humanity? How can these mistakes be overcome? The one national mistake that haunts us perhaps more than any other is slavery. This humiliating institution is portrayed in a powerful film called "Heritage of Slavery." View this film and then invite a local historian to discuss with your group the ways in which Americans have attempted to overcome this horror and their progress to date.

Toward a New Dream

It has been suggested that the "American Dream" is outmoded and should be redefined. Explore this suggestion in a discussion with your group. Ask members to define the "Dream," to assess its components in light of the present state of the nation, and to make predictions about the future. Then undertake to redefine the "Dream," if your group agrees it should be changed. A local historian can be invited to serve as a moderator and provide perspectives on the "Dream" in America's past. You might want to record this discussion as part of an oral history of your group's activities.

SECTION III
SOME OTHER AMERICAN ISSUES FORUM RESOURCES

Since it began in September 1975, the American Issues Forum has captured the interest and enthusiasm of various media, organizations, corporations, and state and community groups. As part of their participation in the Forum's discussions, many of these groups and organizations have developed programs and materials on various facets of the Forum's topics. The following is a list of these programs and materials and some suggestions about how to incorporate them into your local program planning.

American Issues Forum — National Television and Radio

• "OURSTORY," **a public television series** designed to stimulate discussion of Forum topics, is aired on public television stations during prime-time hours once a month. Developed by WNET/13, New York, and introduced by Bill Moyers, these specials dramatize true events in the lives of little known, but historically important Americans and reflect significant themes in American history from colonial times to the present. In the spirit of the national dialogue sparked by the American Issues Forum, scripts for these monthly programs are deliberately open-ended to raise questions about the Forum topics. Each program concludes with a discussion of the questions raised.

In January 1976 "The Devil's Work," the fifth program in the "OURSTORY" series, will be aired. It is the story of an enterprising actor in a local touring company in mid-19th century America and the problems he faces in his struggle for economic survival and creative expression. This program and others in the series are excellent introductions to the Forum issues and provocative starting points for your monthly discussions. For information about program scheduling in your area, contact your local public television station.

To assist discussion leaders and teachers, discussion materials and bibliographies are available in limited quantities from local public television stations. If your station is out of these free materials, write Fritz Jacobi, WNET/13, 356 West 58th Street, New York, NY 10019, for additional copies.

Video tapes of the series programs also are available for use by community groups. For information about how to obtain these tapes, write Media Services Department, WNET/13, 356 West 58th Street, New York, NY 10019 or phone (212) 262-4940.

• In 1976, a series of five, monthly, three-hour **radio forums** can be heard on your local public radio station the first Saturday of every month. Part of a series developed by National Public Radio, "American Issues Radio Forum" includes presentations of the issues, discussions by leading scholars and public figures, and a unique national call-in session to encourage participation by citizens across the country. All of these sessions, which are broadcast between 11 a.m. and 2 p.m. E.S.T., are hosted by Robert Cromie, the Peabody Award-winning host of the nationally

syndicated television show "Book Beat."

These programs provide a convenient way for members of your group to obtain background information on the American Issues Forum topics each month. Program information on each radio forum is available from your local public radio station and can be publicized in your newsletter or meeting announcements. Since the call-in number is toll-free, members should be encouraged to phone in their questions and comments.

National Public Radio has published a *Listeners' Guide* for the series which includes background materials and discussion questions on each topic. Up to one hundred copies of the *Listeners' Guide* are available free to organizations from local NPR member stations or by writing National Public Radio, 2025 M Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Additional copies can be ordered for a cost of 10 cents per copy.

For those interested, cassettes of each radio forum are available to the public for $2 each, plus a $5 handling charge. For information on purchasing these cassettes, contact Dr. Jack Mitchell, Director of Informational Programs, at the National Public Radio address listed above.

• "Our Heritage, Our Hopes" is a series of weekly, taped **radio interviews** with leading citizens and scholars on Forum topics that have been made available to radio stations across the country. A project of the United Church Board for Homeland Ministries, the National Parent Teachers Association and the Education Commission for the States, programs in this series are designed to stimulate discussion as well as offer informed opinions on the Forum's weekly topics. Past programs have featured interviews with Native American activist Vine de Loria, Jr., former Interior Secretary Stuart Udall, *New Republic* Editor Peter Barris and National Urban League President Vernon Jordan, to name a few.

To use these programs as a starting point for your group's discussions, request the program schedule from your local radio station and publicize it in your group's newsletter or meeting announcements. If the series is not aired in your area, you might consider purchasing cassette tapes of the series to play prior to your group's discussion sessions.

Study packets that include the first 30-minute program of each month and a study guide are available for $6 each or $45 for all nine. The remaining three programs for each month are available on one 90-minute cassette for $7 each. Cassettes of the entire series can be purchased for $100. To order these tapes or request additional information, write "Our Heritage, Our Hopes," United Church Board for Homeland Ministries, Room 80, 287 Park Avenue South, New York, NY 10010.

American Issues Forum — Local Television and Radio

Many media programs developed at the local level can serve as convenient reference points for your group's Forum discussions. To determine programing plans at local stations, contact the station manager. If no programming is scheduled, your group might work with the station to develop programs that could become a springboard for community discussions. Below is a sample of Forum-related media programs that have already been produced across the country. Several are available to interested groups.

• "Horizons for America," a series of six, one-half-hour television programs produced by the **University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana**, would be useful in generating discussions of Forum topics. In each program, three professors discuss the monthly issues with a moderator. A guide that includes discussion questions and tips for leading your group's debates has been prepared for each program. Video cassette tapes (3/4-inch) of each program are available for rent at $15 per tape or for sale at $50 per tape. For information on renting the tapes, contact the Visual Aids Service, University of Illinois, Champaign, IL 61820. To purchase the tapes, contact the Office of Instructional Resources, Television Division, University of Illinois, Urbana, IL 61801.

• **Utah Educational Television** has developed a series of 36 one-half-hour programs on Forum topics that are being broadcast on stations KUED and KBYU. Twelve of the programs feature conversations between honor students and the authors of Courses by Newspaper's Forum-related series. Moderator of the programs is Dr. Sterling, McMurrin, Dean of the Graduate School, University of Utah.

If your group is using Courses by Newspaper materials in your discussions, these twelve programs featuring Courses by Newspaper authors would provide additional perspectives and stimulate discussion. For information on obtaining tapes of these programs, contact Greg Hunt, Production Manager, KUED-TV, Music Hall, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah 84112.

• **WGTV in Athens, Georgia**, is airing monthly, one-half-hour programs on Forum topics by academic humanists. Each program features a call-in session to allow community participation in the discussions. For information, contact David Fisher, Georgia Center for Continuing Education, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia 30602.

• **WCPO and WCET in Cincinnati, Ohio**, have produced a series of monthly television programs sponsored by Xavier University in Cincinnati. Dr. Roger Fortin, Department of History, Xavier University, Cincinnati, Ohio 45207, can answer your questions about this series.

• **WOSU Radio in Columbus, Ohio**, is producing "Access: American Issues," a series of weekly radio forums that feature short documentaries, panel discussions and call-in sessions. For program information, contact Don Davis, WOSU Radio, 2400 Olentangy River Road, Columbus, Ohio 43210.

• **WPRI-TV in Providence, Rhode Island**, will cover the monthly Forum topics on "Face the News," a series of panel discussion programs hosted by the Rhode Island Council of Churches. Additional information is available from Rev. Richard D. Fisher, Director of Communications, State Council of Churches, Two Stimson Avenue, Providence, Rhode Island 02906.

• **KESD-TV, South Dakota State University**, Brookings, South Dakota, has recorded a series of on-location discussion programs covering the Forum topics for five months, including January, April and May. For scheduling information, contact Ron Helwig, Center for Continuing Education, University of South Dakota, Vermillion, South Dakota 57069.

• **KERA-TV in Fort Worth, Texas,** is producing a monthly series of one-hour panel discussion shows that feature a call-in session. Write American Issues Forum, Tarrant County Junior College/South, 5301 Campus Drive, Fort Worth, Texas 76119, for more information.

WETV of the University of Wisconsin at Oshkosh is producing a series of one-half-hour radio-television panel discussion programs designed to introduce the weekly topics. For information, contact Dr. Kenneth Grieb, Department of History, University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh, Wisconsin 54901.

• **WGAU in Athens, Georgia,** in cooperation with the Athens League of Women Voters, is sponsoring monthly, one-hour radio programs. On each program, a panel discussion will be followed by audience participation. Program information is available from Ms. Margaret Holt, Georgia Center for Continuing Education, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia 30602.

• **KET, Kentucky Educational Television,** is presenting "Commonwealth Call-in," a series of monthly, hour-long programs, each consisting of a panel discussion and a call-in session. KET also screens a series of one-half-hour films on the weekly topics. Ms. Sandy Welsh, KET, 600 Cooper Drive, Lexington, Kentucky, can answer your questions about this series.

American Issues Forum — Speakers

• High school and college students participating in the **Bicentennial Youth Debates** would welcome the opportunity to participate in your American Issues Forum discussions. Students in approximately 9,000 schools are participating in these nationwide debates sponsored by the Speech Communication Association. These debates, which began in September as a series of competitions at the local level, will culminate in a special program of activities to be held in Washington, D.C.

You might consider inviting student debaters to speak at your meetings and to present opposing viewpoints on an issue-related resolution or to advocate or defend their respective positions on a particular issue. These presentations can be followed by question-and-answer sessions or by group discussions. Another way to involve debaters in your programs is to organize student-adult debates. Group surveys might be taken before and after these debates to determine whether or not they effected any change of opinion.

If you are interested in inviting Bicentennial Youth Debaters to attend your group's programs, contact your local high school or college for the names of local participants. If these schools are not involved, contact one of the eight regional directors listed below for information on the nearest competing educational institution. Regional directors also can provide information about the *BYD Participant Guide*, which contains a list of debate topics, and the *BYD Issue Analysis*, a resource book that introduces the topics with essays, reading materials and a bibliography. There is no charge for these items.

Regional Directors

NORTHEAST	
Connecticut	
Maine	
Massachusetts	Irene Matlon
New Hampshire	Amherst High School
New York	Triangle Street
Rhode Island	Amherst, Massachusetts 01002
Vermont	413/549-2810
MID-ATLANTIC	
Delaware	David Horn
District of Columbia	Bishop McDevitt High School
Maryland	205 Royal Avenue
New Jersey	Wyncote, Pennsylvania 19095
Pennsylvania	215/885-0858
CENTRAL	
Indiana	Lannie Katzman
Kentucky	Toledo Start High School
Ohio	2061 Farragut Street
Virginia	Toledo, Ohio 43613
West Virginia	419/473-1119
SOUTHEAST	
Alabama	
Florida	
Georgia	John Bloodworth
Mississippi	University of Georgia
North Carolina	Department of Management
South Carolina	Athens, Georgia 30602
Tennessee	404/542-7281
SOUTHWEST	
Arizona	
Colorado	
Louisiana	John Crain
New Mexico	Notre Dame High School
Oklahoma	2821 Lansing Boulevard
Texas	Wichita Falls, Texas 76309
Utah	817/692-7202
MIDWEST	
Arkansas	
Illinois	
Iowa	Steve Davis
Kansas	Glenbrook North High School
Missouri	Northbrook, Illinois 60062
Nebraska	312/564-1246
NORTH-CENTRAL	
Michigan	Donald Ritzenhein
Minnesota	Wayne State University
Montana	Department of
North Dakota	Speech Communication
South Dakota	and Theatre
Wisconsin	Detroit, Michigan 48202
Wyoming	313/577-2318

PACIFIC	
Alaska	
California	Louis W. Cockerham
Hawaii	University of Redlands
Idaho	Department of Speech
Nevada	Communication
Oregon	Redlands, California 92373
Washington	714/793-2444

• The Small Business Administration will provide free of charge **speakers on free enterprise** for Forum programs. Requests should be sent to Roy Stull, Director, Office of Public Affairs, Small Business Administration, 1441 L Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20416.

• The United States Civil Service Commission Regional and Area Offices offer **speakers on the merit system in government.** To engage a speaker, contact a U.S. Civil Service Commission Regional or Area Office (there is one located in almost every metropolitan area). To locate the office nearest you, check your phone book under U.S. Government for the U.S. Civil Service listing.

• Members of local **Toastmasters** Clubs and Speakers Bureaus may be available to speak to your group on Forum topics. Background on each Forum topic is published each month in the group's publication, *The Toastmaster.* For information on speakers from Toastmasters Clubs, contact either your local club or your State Bicentennial Commission.

American Issues Forum — Resource Lists

• The American Library Association has developed two **reading lists**—one for adults and one for young readers—to supplement the weekly Forum topics. These lists, which include fiction and non-fiction, records and audio-visual materials, are available to the public through libraries, bookstores and many national organizations.

The reading lists are a storehouse of inexpensive program ideas, since most of the books on them are available either from your local library or in paperback from your local bookstore. A book on each weekly topic can be reviewed by group members in preparation for your discussions. Portions of the list can be reproduced in your newsletters or meeting announcements as suggested background reading materials on each monthly or weekly Forum topic.

Copies of the list are available at your local community or school library. To obtain additional copies in quantities of less than 100, contact your state library agency. For quantities of more than 100, write to the Publishing Services Department, American Library Association, 50 East Huron Street, Chicago, Illinois 60611. There is a $3 charge for each 100 copies of the list ordered.

The American Library Association also has limited quantities of a color poster, which sells for $1 (a 20 percent discount is offered on orders of ten or more), and it is available from the Publishing Services Department of the Association.

• A comprehensive, annotated **list of films** on each of the Forum's weekly topics has been prepared by the Educational Film Library Association. This list contains a wealth of materials for enriching your programs and discussions on Forum topics. Most of the films on the list are of moderate cost and length. To obtain copies of the list, mail $1 per copy to the Educational Film Library Association, 17 West 60th Street, New York, NY 10023.

American Issues Forum — Points of View

• Within the framework of its annual Great Decisions program, the Foreign Policy Association has prepared **viewpoints on foreign policy questions** that relate to the Forum topic "America in the World." Three of the eight weekly topics for Great Decisions '76, a nationwide study-discussion program of vital foreign policy themes scheduled to be held in February and March 1976, coincide with the weekly Forum topics "The American Dream Among Nations," "The Economic Dimension" and "A Nation Among Nations." Information on these three Forum topics, as well as the other topics, can be found in the 96-page Great Decisions '76 program booklet, a collection of background and analyses on U.S. foreign policy alternatives, discussion questions, bibliography, maps, charts, cartoons and other illustrations.

Essays on the three Forum topics, written by recognized authorities in their fields, have been printed in the Foreign Policy Association's bimonthly *Headline Series.* For the March 1975 issue, Charles Frankel, the Old Dominion Professor of Philosophy and Public Affairs at Columbia University, authored "Morality and U.S. Foreign Policy." The October 1975 issue contained essays by Richard B. Morris, president-elect of the American Historical Association, and by Henry F. Graff of Columbia University. The December 1975 issue featured "The U.S., Interdependence and World Order" by Lincoln P. Bloomfield, professor of political science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Irmgi C. Bloomfield, co-author of the annual United Nations article in *Collier's Encyclopedia Yearbook.*

All of these materials are convenient references for your group's discussions of foreign policy questions. Copies of the Great Decision '76 program booklet can be ordered at $4 each and copies of the February, October and December 1975 *Headline Series* are available for $1.40 each. There is a 20 percent discount on orders of between 10 and 99 program booklets and a 25 percent discount on orders of between 10 and 99 copies of each *Headline Series.* Place your orders by writing FPA Bicentennial Materials, Foreign Policy Association, 345 East 46th Street, New York, NY 10017. Payment must accompany orders of $4 or less.

In addition to printed materials, television and radio programs related to the Great Decisions '76 topics will be aired during February and March 1976. A television series produced by WGTV of the University of Georgia's Center for Continuing Education will be made available to public television stations. Radio programs produced by Wayne State University will be made available to the 700 stations affiliated with the Mutual Broadcasting System. You might want to check airing dates and times with local public television stations and radio stations and publicize this information in your newsletter or meeting announcements.

• Views of the Forum topics from the **local perspective of city, town and countryside** are contained in a series of nine essays produced under the auspices of the American Association for State and Local History. These essays,

written by outstanding scholar-writers, are distributed to state and local historical societies and are reprinted once a month in the *National Observer.*

To preview these essays, contact your local or state historical society. If you would like to make these perspectives available to members of your group as background materials, copies can be made from essays available at your local or state historical society. Blanket permission for duplicates has been granted by the American Association for State and Local History. Reprints of the essays as they appeared in the *National Observer* are available for 25 cents each from the Education Service Bureau, P.O. Box 300, Princeton, New Jersey 08540. A minimum order of $2.50 is requested.

• An examination of the American Issues Forum topics from **ethnic perspectives** (primarily Eastern and Southern European) have been made available to approximately 750 ethnic-language community newspapers and radio stations throughout the country. The authors of these weekly articles, which are part of a project sponsored by the National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs, are nationally renowned for their involvement in ethnic affairs.

If your group is interested in exploring the Forum topics from this perspective, contact your local ethnic newspaper or radio station to determine when the articles or programs will appear. Members can be advised of publication dates and/or airing times in advance of your meetings so that material can be used as a starting point for your group's discussions.

These articles and auxiliary materials are available to the public for a nominal fee. For additional information, contact Andy Leon Harney, Editor, National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs, 4408 Eighth Street, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20017.

• If your group is concerned with **viewpoints on farming and/or life in rural and small town America,** discussion materials prepared by the National Grange may be useful in your discussions of the Forum topics. These materials titled "American Issues Forum: A Rural Perspective" also provide a valuable perspective to groups based in or concerned with urban environments. For free copies, write to David R. Lambert, The National Grange, 1616 H Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.

• Brief **statements for women's groups** on the Forum topics have been prepared in pamphlet form by Women in Community Service, Inc. (WICS). Available in both Spanish and English, these materials are distributed to the five national organizations that comprise the WICS coalition and are available to the public at no charge as long as the supply lasts. Send requests to Miss Mary A. Hallaren, Executive Director, WICS Inc., Room 400, 1730 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

• Project Forward '76, the bicentennial group of the Interchurch Center, New York City, has developed several **tools for religious groups and organizations** to use in their discussions of the Forum topics. Their focus on the ethical and moral questions raised by the topics would add a vital dimension to your group's discussions.

Forum: Religion Speaks to American Issues contains background statements on all of the Forum issues. This paperback book sells for $2.95. *Ethics for Everybody*, a guide for discussion leaders, includes an ethical compass, a device useful in value clarification, as well as questions and other background material. A copy of this book is available to each group discussion leader at no charge. Additional copies can be purchased at cost and group rates are available for bulk orders.

A third tool developed by Project Forward '76 is a series of filmstrips designed to stimulate group discussions. These 10-minute, color presentations (with sound) cost $30. To order any of these materials or to obtain additional information, contact Charles Brackbill, Project Forward '76, Suite 1676, Riverside Drive, New York, NY 10027.

• Essays dealing with **minority viewpoints** on the American Issues Forum topics *America in the World* and *Growing Up in America* are being developed by the National Urban League. Distinguished scholars have been asked to prepare these essays, which will be published in January 1976 as a supplement to the League's newspaper, the *Urban League News.* To coincide with *America in the World,* the essay topic is "Blacks in U.S. Wars"; and with *Growing Up in America,* "The Struggle of Blacks for Educational Equality" and "The Black Family in America."

For information on how to obtain these essays for use by your group, contact a local chapter of the Urban League or James Williams, Director of Communications, National Urban League, 500 East 62nd Street, New York, NY 10022.

• Eighteen eminent scholars express **viewpoints of minority groups** on the Forum's topics in essays published in *Crisis,* the monthly journal of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Each of the authors will discuss two of the weekly topics. Many of the other articles appearing in each month's *Crisis* also will be related to the Forum's topics.

If you are interested in sharing these viewpoints with members of your organization, consider subscribing to *Crisis* (it is not available on the newsstands). A one-year subscription costs $6. Other places where you might find copies of the magazine are your local library or the offices of your local or state branch of the NAACP. For a brochure describing the essays and their authors, write to Warren Marr II, Editor, *Crisis,* 1790 Broadway, New York, NY 10019.

• "Older Americans in Our Society," an examination of the Forum topics from the **perspectives of elderly Americans,** has been made available to newspapers throughout the country from The National Council on the Aging. These perspectives are in the form of newspaper columns authored by William Randall, professor emeritus of English, University of Maine. If you are interested in using these columns in your group programs, contact your local paper to determine the date the columns appear. Members can be advised of publication dates and urged to read the columns to prepare for group discussions. Copies of all the columns and a study guide are available for $2.95 from the National Media Resource Center on Aging, The National Council on the Aging, Suite 504, 1828 L Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

• "Labor and the Bicentennial," a series of pamphlets presenting the **labor perspective** on each monthly Forum topic, have been prepared by the AFL-CIO. These pamphlets will be distributed to union members throughout the country through AFL-CIO publications. To obtain free

copies of the pamphlets for use in your discussions, contact Mrs. Dorothy Shields, Division of Education, AFL-CIO, 815-16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.

• **Publications on many of the Forum's topics** are available from the League of Women Voters. Many of these brief issue analyses are appropriate for inclusion in your meeting announcements to prepare members for forthcoming discussions. For a catalogue of these publications, contact Elizabeth J. Dribben, Public Relations Director, League of Women Voters, 1730 M Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

• A two-volume series of **discussion materials** for each of the Forum's 36 topics has been prepared by the University of Denver Regional AIF Project. Included in each are selected readings, game charts and maps. These materials are available in two versions: *What is America? Readings and Questions,* for informal discussion groups, and *What is America? Discussions,* for social studies classes in junior and senior high schools. For a sample master copy of this series which you can duplicate for use in your group's discussions, write Dr. Robert E. Roeder, Office of the Dean, University of Denver, Denver, Colorado 80210.

• The Campus Studies Institute, a division of World Research, Inc., has prepared **educational material on free market economics and philosophy** that would be valuable in stimulating discussions on the Forum's February topic *The Business of America.* Available to groups participating in the Forum is a paperback book, *The Incredible Bread Machine,* that explores the interrelationships of personal and economic freedom. Also available are a series of pamphlets that discuss the personal and economic effects of government regulation of the market.

The paperback book, which sells for $1.95, is available in many bookstore chains across the country or can be ordered from the Campus Studies Institute. A set of 10 topic guides designed for use with the book also can be purchased at $5 per set. For additional information on pamphlets available and to order the book, write Campus Studies Institute, Division of World Research, 11722 Sorrento Valley Road, San Diego, CA 92121.

• **Resources for institutions and organizations** to use in planning and conducting community Forum programs have been compiled by Gaylord Brothers, Inc./SIRS. For information on obtaining this valuable guide, contact Ms. Virginia H. Mathews, Gaylord Brothers, Inc./SIRS, P.O. Box 61, Syracuse, New York 13201.

American Issues Forum — Regional, State, and Local Program Resources

• The University of Denver is coordinating Forum programs in a six-state region that includes Colorado, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, Utah and Wyoming. Through its Board of Directors and a group of coordinators drawn from each of the six states, the University of Denver provides information and supplementary materials for the Forum.

If your group is located in one of these six states and you are interested in becoming involved in a regional program, contact your State Humanities Committee.

• State Humanities Committees also can serve as reference points for your American Issues Forum program planning. These committees will make the Forum film and other relevant materials available to community groups and will fund Forum projects that coincide with their respective themes and guidelines. Below are the names of executive directors and addresses and phone numbers of State Humanities Committees.

Jack Geren (205) 324-1314
Executive Director
Alabama Committee for the Humanities and Public Policy
Box 700
Birmingham-Southern College
Birmingham, Alabama 35204

Gary Holthaus (907) 272-5341
Executive Director
Alaska Humanities Forum
429 D Street, Rm. 211, Loussac Sogn Bldg.
Anchorage, Alaska 99501

Lorraine Frank (602) 257-0335
Executive Director
Arizona Council on the Humanities and Public Policy
Arizona Bank Building, Suite 716
34 W. Monroe St.
Phoenix, Arizona 85003

Anthony Dubé (501) 568-2200 Ext. 377
Executive Director
Arkansas Humanities Program
Student Services Bldg., University of Arkansas, Little Rock
Little Rock, Arkansas 72204

Bruce Sievers (415) 495-7595
Executive Director
California Council on the Humanities and Public Policy
593 Market Street, Suite 900
San Francisco, California 94105

William Hynes (303) 442-7298
Executive Director
Colorado Humanities Program
855 Broadway
Boulder, Colorado 80302

Marianne Barnaby (203) 347-6888
Executive Director
Connecticut Humanities Council
287 High Street, Wesleyan Station
Middletown, Connecticut 06457

Rona Finkelstein (302) 738-8491
Executive Director
Delaware Humanities Council
2600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Wilmington, Delaware 19806

Mrs. Carolyn Fleming (813) 476-9500 Ext. 374
Executive Director
Florida Endowment for the Humanities
The Fieldhouse
University of West Florida Pensacola, Florida 32504

J. Preston Prather (404) 542-5481
Executive Director
Committee for the Humanities in Georgia
c/o University of Georgia Center for Continuing Education
Athens, Georgia 30601

Annette Lew (808) 947-5891
Executive Director
Hawaii Committee for the Humanities
2615 S. King, Suite 3H
Honolulu, Hawaii 96813

Rose Bowman (208) 345-5346
Executive Director
The Association for the Humanities in Idaho
P.O. Box 424
Boise, Idaho 83701

Marvin L. Vawter (217) 333-7611
Executive Director
Illinois Humanities Council
314 South Neil St., Room 203
Champaign, Illinois 61820

Martin Sullivan (317) 925-7195
Executive Director
The Indiana Committee for the Humanities
4200 Northwestern Avenue
Indianapolis, Indiana 46205

Philip L. Shively (319) 353-6754
Executive Director
Iowa Board for Public Programs in the Humanities
c/o Division of Extension
C-207 East Hall, University of Iowa
Iowa City, Iowa 52240

Marion Cott (913) 357-0359
Executive Director
Kansas Committee for the Humanities
616 Merchants Bank Bldg., 8th and Jackson Streets
Topeka, Kansas 66612

Arthur E. Curtis (606) 258-5932
Executive Director
Kentucky Humanities Council, Inc.
206 Breckinridge Hall, University of Kentucky
Lexington, Kentucky 40506

David Boileau (504) 865-9404
Executive Director
Louisiana Committee for the Humanities
Box 12, Loyola University
New Orleans, Louisiana 70118

David Smith (207) 782-7944
Executive Director
Maine Humanities Council
497 Main Street
Lewistown, Maine 04240

Maria M. Heyssel (301) 467-8596
Executive Director
Maryland Committee for the Humanities and Public Policy
2 East Redwood, Johns Hopkins University
34th and Charles Streets
Baltimore, Maryland 21214

Nathaniel Reed (413) 545-1936
Executive Director
Massachusetts Foundation for Humanities and Public Policy
237E Whitmore Administration Building
University of Massachusetts
Amherst, Mass. 01002

Ronald Means (517) 355-0160
Executive Director
Department of Continuing Education
Room 7, Kellogg Center, Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan 48824

Lynn M. Smith (612) 624-5739
Executive Director
Minnesota Humanities Commission
Metro Square
St. Paul, Minnesota 55101

Cora Norman (601) 232-5901
Executive Director
Mississippi Committee for the Humanities
P.O. Box 335
University, Mississippi 38677

Robert Walrond (314) 863-0100 Ext. 3164
Executive Director
Missouri State Committee for the Humanities, Inc.
6922 Millbrook Boulevard
St. Louis, Missouri 63130

Margaret Kingsland (406) 243-6022
Executive Director
Montana Committee for the Humanities
University of Montana
Missoula, Montana 59801

Michael J. Holland (308) 234-2110
Executive Director
Nebraska Committee for the Humanities
RFD 2, Box 65A
Kearney, Nebraska 68847

Elmer Cole (702) 784-6587
Executive Director
Nevada Humanities Committee
1101 N. Virginia St.
Reno, Nevada 89503

Miriam L. Murphy (201) 932-7726
Executive Director
New Jersey Committee for the Humanities
Rutgers University
137 Church Street
New Brunswick, N.J. 08903

Stephen Taylor (603) 469-3203
Executive Director
New Hampshire Council for the Humanities
Box 271 Meriden, New Hampshire 03770

Allen Gerlach (505) 277-3705
Executive Director
New Mexico Humanities Council
300 Scholes Hall, University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico 87131

Ronald Florence (212) 594-4380
Executive Director
New York Council for the Humanities
326 W. 42nd Street New York, N.Y. 10036

James Noel (919) 379-5325
Executive Director
North Carolina Humanities Committee
1209 W. Market Street
Greensboro, North Carolina 27403

Everett Albers (701) 227-2125
Executive Director
North Dakota Committee for Humanities and Public Policy
Box 136, Dickinson State College
Dickinson, North Dakota 58601

Richard Wood (614) 236-6879
Executive Director
Ohio Committee for Public Programs in the Humanities
2199 East Main Street
Columbus, Ohio 43016

James Vore (405) 751-8694
Executive Director
Oklahoma Humanities Committee
11018 Quail Creek Road
Oklahoma City, Okla. 73120

Charles Ackley (503) 229-4821
Executive Director
Oregon Committee for the Humanities
1633 S. W. Park Ave. Portland, Oregon 97201

Robert M. Giannetti (717) 524-1333
Executive Director
The Humanities in Pennsylvania, A Public Committee
Bucknell University
Lewisburg, Pennsylvania 17837

Thomas Roberts (401) 521-6150
Executive Director
Rhode Island Committee for the Humanities
86 Weybosset, Room 307
Providence, Rhode Island 02903

Leland Cox (803) 799-1704
Executive Director
South Carolina Committee for the Humanities
McCrory Bldg., 2801 Devine Street
Columbia, South Carolina 29205

Jane Crater (615) 298-4469
Executive Director
Tennessee Committee for the Humanities
Suite 300, Coleman Bldg.
3716 Hillsboro Rd.
Nashville, Tennessee 37215

John Whalen (605) 688-4823
Executive Director
South Dakota Committee on the Humanities
Box 35, University Station
Brookings, South Dakota 57006

Sandra L. Myres (817) 273-3174
Executive Director
Texas Committee for the Humanities and Public Policy
P.O. Box 19096, University of Texas at Arlington
Arlington, Texas 76019

Delmont R. Oswald (801) 524-4569
Executive Director
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34 East First South Salt Lake City, Utah 84111

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Executive Director
Virginia Foundation for the Humanities and Public Policy
205 Miller Hall, University of Virginia
Charlottesville, Virginia 22903

William Oliver (206) 866-6510
Executive Director
Washington Commission for the Humanities
Olympia, Washington 98505

Paul Muchins (304) 766-3522
Executive Director
Committee for Humanities and Public Policy in West Virginia, Inc.
Art Department, West Virginia State College
Institute, West Virginia 25112

Patricia Anderson (608) 262-0706
Executive Director
Wisconsin Humanities Commission
c/o State Historical Society of Wisconsin
816 State Street
Madison, Wisconsin 53706

Audrey Cotherman (307) 766-6496
Executive Director
Wyoming Council for the Humanities
Box 3274, University Station
Laramie, Wyoming 82071

• Your state or territorial Bicentennial Commission can serve as a reference point for your American Issues Forum program planning and may be able to provide your group with the Forum film and related materials. Many Commissions are active in implementing Forum-related events. Your Bicentennial Commission also can inform you of any bicentennial activities scheduled for your area that have a tie-in with your group's American Issues Forum programs.

Below are the addresses and phone numbers of the 55 state and territorial Bicentennial Commissions.

ALABAMA ARBC
State Office Building, Rm. 509
Montgomery, Alabama 36104
205/269-7458

ALASKA ARBC
840 MacKay Building
338 Denali Street
Anchorage, Alaska 99501
907/274-6051

AMERICAN SAMOA Bicentennial Commission
c/o Government House
Pago Pago, American Samoa 96799
Call Operator

ARIZONA Bicentennial Commission
1807 North Central Avenue
Suite 108
Phoenix, Arizona 85004
606/271-4031

ARKANSAS Bicentennial Celebration Committee
Old State House
300 West Markham Street
Little Rock, Arkansas 72201
501/371-2141

ARBC OF CALIFORNIA
1501 Eighth Street
Sacramento, California 95814
916/322-2794

COLORADO Centennial-Bicentennial Commission
Colorado County Penthouse
901 Sherman, 15th Floor
Denver, Colorado 80203
303/573-1876

CONNECTICUT ARBC
59 South Prospect Street
Hartford, Connecticut 06106
203/547-1776

DELAWARE ARBC
P.O. Box 2476
Wilmington, Delaware 19899
302/571-1776

D.C. Bicentennial Commission
1025 15th St., N.W. Suite 80
Washington, D.C. 20005
202/393-1976

FLORIDA Bicentennial Commission
P.O. Box 10207
Tallahassee, Florida 32302
904/222-1776

GEORGIA Commission for the National Bicentennial Celebration
1776 Peachtree, N.W.
Suite 520, South Wing
Atlanta, Georgia 30309
404/894-5780

GUAM ARBC
c/o University of Guam
P.O. Box EK
Agana, Guam 96910
Call Operator

HAWAII Bicentennial Commission
P.O. Box 2359
Honolulu, Hawaii 96804
808/548-4615

IDAHO ARBC
210 Main Street
Boise, Idaho 83702
208/384-3890

ILLINOIS Bicentennial Commission
410 North Michigan Avenue
Room 1044
Chicago, Illinois 60611
312/793-4581

INDIANA State Bicentennial Commission
State Office Building,
Room 504
Indianapolis, Indiana 46204
317/633-4217

IOWA ARBC
State House
Des Moines, Iowa 50319
515/288-8215

KANSAS ARBC
1518 North Broadway
Wichita, Kansas 67214
316/262-7404

KENTUCKY Historical Events Celebration Commission
Capitol Plaza Towers
Room 1005
Frankfort, Kentucky 40601
502/564-4524

LOUISIANA ARBC
P.O. Box 44343
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70804
504/389-6752

MAINE State ARBC
State House
Augusta, Maine 04330
207/289-3220

MARYLAND Bicentennial Commission
2525 Riva Road
Annapolis, Maryland 21401
301/267-5046

MASSACHUSETTS Revolutionary War Bicentennial Commission
10 Tremont Street, Room 64
Boston, Massachusetts 02108
617/727-5047

MICHIGAN Bicentennial Commission
T.M.L. Building, Suite #7
6425 South Pennsylvania Ave.
Lansing, Michigan 48910
517/373-1976

MINNESOTA ARBC
The State Capitol
St. Paul, Minnesota 55101
612/296-5090

MISSISSIPPI ARBC
Department of Archives and History
P.O. Box 571
Jackson, Mississippi 39205
601/354-6218

ARBC of MISSOURI
P.O. Box 1776
Jefferson City, Missouri 65101
314/751-3784

MONTANA ARBC
Montana Historical Society
225 North Roberts Street
Helena, Montana 59601
406/449-3884

NEBRASKA ARBC
Radisson Cornhusker Hotel
13th and M Streets
Lincoln, Nebraska 68508
402/346-3400

NEVADA ARBC
Capitol Building
Carson City, Nevada 89701
702/882-7600

NEW HAMPSHIRE Bicentennial Commission
37 Pleasant Street
Concord, New Hampshire 03301
603/271-2100

NEW JERSEY ARB Celebration Commission
379 West State Street
Trenton, New Jersey 08618
609/292-6576

NEW MEXICO ARBC
141 East de Vargas
Santa Fe, New Mexico 87501
505/827-3281

NEW YORK State ARBC
Office of State History
State Education Department
99 Washington Avenue
Albany, New York 12210
518/474-3931

NORTH CAROLINA ARBC
Department of Art, Culture and History
109 East Jones Street
Raleigh, North Carolina 27601
919/829-2430

NORTH DAKOTA Bicentennial Commission
State Capitol Building
Room 206
Bismarck, North Dakota 58501
701/224-2424

OHIO American Revolution Bicentennial Advisory Commission
Ohio Historical Center
Columbus, Ohio 43211
614/466-5803

OKLAHOMA ARBC
4040 North Lincoln Blvd.
Suite 107
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73105
504/427-2477

ARBC of OREGON
P.O. Box 1399
Portland, Oregon 97207
503/229-4805

PENNSYLVANIA Bicentennial Commission
Wm. Penn Memorial Museum
5th Floor
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania 17108
717/787-1976

PUERTO RICO Bicentennial Commission
La Fortaleza
San Juan, Puerto Rico 00901
809/724-3020

RHODE ISLAND Bicentennial Commission
Old State House
150 Benefit St.
Providence, Rhode Island 02903
401/272-1776

SOUTH CAROLINA ARBC
P.O. Box 1976
Columbia, South Carolina 29202
803/758-7855

SOUTH DAKOTA ARBC
State Capitol
Pierre, South Dakota 57501
608/224-3224

TENNESSEE ARBC
315 Capitol Towers
Nashville, Tennessee 37219
615/741-1774

ARBC of TEXAS
Executive Offices
210 University Hall
University of Texas at Arlington
Arlington, Texas 76019
817/461-1776

UTAH ARBC
State Capitol Building
Suite 403
Salt Lake City, Utah 84114
801/328-6026

VERMONT Bicentennial Commission
Box 195
Saxtons River, Vermont 05154
802/869-2338

VIRGINIA Independence Bicentennial Commission
Drawer JF
Williamsburg, Virginia 23185
804/229-1607

VIRGIN ISLANDS ARBC
P.O. Box 450
St. Thomas, Virgin Islands
00801
809/774-4343

WASHINGTON STATE ARBC
c/o Washington State
Historical Society
315 North Stadium Way
Tacoma, Washington 98403
206/593-2830

WEST VIRGINIA ARBC
1900 Washington Street, East
Charleston, West Virginia 25305
304/348-3610

WISCONSIN ARBC
816 State Street
Madison, Wisconsin 53706
608/263-1776

WYOMING Bicentennial Commission
c/o State Archives and
Historical Department
Wyoming State Office Building
Cheyenne, Wyoming 82001
307/777-7776

• Four metropolitan areas in the United States have been aided by the National Endowment for the Humanities in their undertaking of a series of urban programs related to the Forum topics. Special Forum Committees are working in each *American Issues Forum City* to coordinate city-wide Forum programs utilizing media, existing continuing education programs, supporting materials and a local discussion format. These programs will continue throughout the bicentennial year.

If your group is located in the vicinity of one of these cities, it may be possible for your members to participate in these special programs. Even if these cities are too distant for direct participation, you may find that the activities they have planned will be useful in arranging Forum programs for your organization. Below is a list of the four cities and the names and addresses of the Forum Committee chairpersons.

San Francisco
Dr. J. S. Holliday, Director
California Historical Society
2090 Jackson Street
San Francisco, California 94112

Denver
Mr. Marion Beason, Chairman
American Issues Forum
1420 Larimer Square
Denver, Colorado 80202

San Antonio
Mr. Claud Stanush
P.O. Box 897
San Antonio, Texas 78293

Chicago
Dr. Stanley Katz
The Law School
University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois 60637

• Programs on Forum topics and how they relate to the future will be an integral part of the bicentennial activities of many of the 5,000 bicentennial communities, cities and towns across the country. Bicentennial Commissions in these communities have endorsed the Forum and are already developing their local programs. For information on these programs and how your group can participate, contact the chairperson of your local Bicentennial Commission.

American Issues Forum — Other Resources

• The national or international headquarters of your organization is a likely source of ideas for American Issues Forum programs. Many organizations are publicizing the Forum and offering program suggestions in their newsletters or other official publications. Some organizations have scheduled workshops or conferences based on Forum topics.

The following is a sampling of the many organizations that have developed general Forum programs:

Administration on Aging, Department of Health, Education and Welfare
American Association of Community and Junior Colleges
American Association of State Colleges and Universities
American Association of University Women
American Field Service
American Library Association
American National Metric Council
American Newspaper Publishers Association
Camp Fire Girls, Inc.
Communications Workers of America
Foreign Policy Association
Kiwanis International
League of Women Voters
National Alliance of Black School Educators
National Association of Educational Broadcasters
National Association of Manufacturers
National Congress of Parents and Teachers
National Conference on Social Welfare
National Education Association
National Institute of Senior Centers
National University Extension Association
Parents Without Partners
Toastmasters International
U.S. Conference of Mayors

• Your local library, with the guidance of the American Library Association, has probably developed American Issues Forum programs and exhibits. Contact your local librarian for information about these programs and how your group can participate.

• Several national magazines have published or will publish special bicentennial issues. Articles in these issues, although not prepared with the Forum in mind, may relate to Forum topics. Since these are special issues, some of which will be collectors' items, additional copies will most likely be available at a moderate cost, with special group rates. Watch your newsstands for these bicentennial editions.

SECTION IV
RESOURCES LOCATOR

Many of the program suggestions in Section II incorporate audio-visual materials to stimulate or enrich American Issues Forum discussions. Each film was selected for its relevance to the topic under discussion, as well as its moderate cost and general availability.

If you have decided to use any of these resources in your American Issues Forum programs, check first to see if they are available locally. Your community library or a high school, community college, or university library may have audio-visual centers that have the films you want or can help you obtain them.

If you plan to rent a film through a distributor, remember to place your reservation well in advance of the date you plan to view it. Most distributors suggest placing reservations at least several months in advance. When writing to reserve a film, be sure to include alternate dates and a billing address. If the film you want is not available, consult the American Issues Forum Film List of the Educational Film Library Association for alternative titles (see Section III for information on how to obtain this list).

Films

All films listed below are 16mm with sound. Rental fees are not listed because they are subject to change. A list of distributors follows.

And Who Shall Feed This World?
54 min. color 1974
Distributor: Films Inc.

Anything You Want To Be
8 min. b & w 1971
Distributor: New Day Films

Beauty Knows No Pain
25 min. color 1972
Distributor: Benchmark Films

The Blue Collar Trap
51 min. color 1968
Distributor: Films Inc.

Business: Brother Can You Spare $1,000,000,000?
22 min. color 1971
Distributor: Document Associates

But Is This Progress?
51 min. color 1973
Distributor: Films Inc.

. . . But What If The Dream Comes True?
52 min. color 1971
Distributor: Carousel Films

Buy, Buy
20 min. color 1973
Distributor: Churchill Films

Campaign: American Style
39 min. color 1969
Distributor: BFA Educational Media

The Captive
29 min. b & w 1964
Distributor: National Council of Churches

The Cloistered Nun
18 min. b & w 1969
Distributor: Films Inc.

The Corporation
53 min. b & w 1973
Distributor: Carousel Films

The Detached Americans
33 min. b & w 1965
Distributor: Carousel Films

Dreams and Nightmares
60 min. color 1974
Distributor: New Yorker Films

The Factory
55 min. b & w 1970
Distributor: Filmakers Library

Finally Got the News
55 min. b & w 1969
Distributor: Tricontinental Film Center

Fire!
54 min. color 1973
Distributor: Phoenix Films

Freedom 2000
22 min. color
Distributor: Chamber of Commerce of the United States

Goodby Billy—America Goes to War
25 min. b & w 1971
Distributor: Churchill Films

Hearts and Minds
90 min. color 1974
Distributor: rbc films

Henry David Thoreau: The Beat of a Different Drummer
20 min. color 1973
Distributor: Films Inc.

Heritage of Slavery
53 min. color 1968
Distributor: BFA Educational Media

Hunger in America
54 min. color 1968
Distributor: Carousel Films

The Inheritance
55 min. b & w 1964
Distributor: McGraw-Hill Films

The Legend of John Henry
11 min. color 1973
Distributor: Pyramid Films

The Legend of Paul Bunyan
14 min. color 1973
Distributor: Pyramid Films

Lessons From the -- Isms
29 min. 1963
Distributor: Indiana University

Lure of Empire
28 min. color 1974
Distributor: Learning Corp. of America

Money on the Move – The Federal Reserve Today
27 min. color 1963
Distributor: Federal Reserve Bank

The More Abundant Life
52 min. color 1973
Distributor: Time-Life Films

More Than A School
55 min. color 1974
Distributor: Films Inc.

The Most
27 min. b & w 1962
Distributor: Pyramid Films

My Childhood, Part I: Hubert Humphrey's South Dakota
26 min. b & w 1964
Distributor: Benchmark Films

My Childhood, Part II: James Baldwin's Harlem
25 min. b & w 1964
Distributor: Benchmark Films

Now Is Forever
53 min. color 1972
Distributor: Film Dynamics

Oil in the Middle East
20 min. color 1973
Distributor: Films Inc.

Other Women, Other Work
20 min. color 1973
Distributor: Churchill Films

Pensions: The Broken Promise
38 min. color 1972
Distributor: Films Inc.

Problem
12 min. color 1966
Distributor: Macmillan Films, Inc.

The Rise of Big Business
27 min. color 1970
Distributor: Encyclopaedia Britannica Educational Corp.

Sugar and Spice
32 min. color 1974
Distributor: Odeon Films

Sylvia, Fran and Joy
25 min. b & w 1973
Distributor: Churchill Films

That's What Living's About
18 min. color 1973
Distributor: University of California Extension Media Center

Triunfo–Peace Corps in Honduras
28 min. color 1971
Distributor: Peace Corps

What Is the Good Life?
15½ min. color 1972
Distributor: BFA Educational Media

Why We Boycott
17 min. color 1974
Distributor: AFL-CIO Department of Education

DISTRIBUTORS

AFL-CIO Department of Education
Film Division
815 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Benchmark Films, Inc.
145 Scarborough Road
Briarcliff Manor, New York 10510

BFA Educational Media
2211 Michigan Ave.
P.O. Box 1795
Santa Monica, California 90406

Carousel Films, Inc.
1501 Broadway, Suite 1503
New York, New York 10036

Chamber of Commerce of the United States
Audio-Visual Department
1615 H Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20062

Churchill Films
662 N. Robertson Boulevard
Los Angeles, California 90069

Document Associates
573 Church Street
Toronto 285, Ontario, Canada

Encyclopaedia Britannica Educational Corp.
425 North Michigan Ave.
Chicago, Illinois 60611

Federal Reserve Bank
Public Information Department
33 Library Street
New York, New York 10045
Serves New York and Northern New Jersey.
Contact Your local Federal Reserve Bank for service to other areas.

Film Dynamics
7250 Fair Oaks Blvd.
Carmichael, California 95608

Filmakers Library, Inc.
290 West End Avenue
New York, New York 10023

Films Inc.
1144 Wilmette Avenue
Wilmette, Illinois 60091

Indiana University
Audio-Visual Center
Bloomington, Indiana 47401

Learning Corp. of America
1350 Avenue of the Americas
New York, New York 10019

COURSES BY NEWSPAPER HAS PREPARED LIVELY AND THOUGHT-PROVOKING READERS AND STUDY GUIDES THAT CORRESPOND TO THE TOPICS OF THE AMERICAN ISSUES FORUM.

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To order the READERS and STUDY GUIDES for AMERICAN ISSUES FORUM, use the coupon printed below. Include the list price of $4.95 (READER) and $2.95 (STUDY GUIDE). Please send check or money order — no currency or C.O.D.'s. Additional copies of the COMMUNITY LEADER'S guide may also be ordered at $1.25.

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_____copy/copies of Community Leader's Source Book, Vol. II, $1.25.

_____copy/copies of AMERICAN ISSUES FORUM READER, Vol. I, $4.95.

_____copy/copies of AMERICAN ISSUES FORUM READER, Vol. II, $4.95.

_____copy/copies of AMERICAN ISSUES FORUM STUDY GUIDE, Vol. I, $2.95.

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AMERICAN ISSUES FORUM II:

THE MOLDING OF AMERICAN VALUES

Newspaper Articles for the Fourth Course by Newspaper

AUTHORS

Allen Weinstein
Robert L. Heilbroner
Paul A. Samuelson
Walter LaFeber
Neil Harris
Daniel Aaron

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is a project of
University Extension
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PREFACE

The 18 articles in this booklet discuss some of the factors and institutions that have been influential in the molding of American values. They examine phases of America at work and at leisure, the nation's self-conceived role in the international scene, and the social institutions that have directed and shaped American character. These articles were originally written for the fourth Course by Newspaper, AMERICAN ISSUES FORUM II: THE MOLDING OF AMERICAN VALUES, offered in the winter/spring of 1976. (A sequel course, AMERICAN ISSUES FORUM I, examines the MAKING OF AMERICAN SOCIETY. It was originally offered in the fall of 1975.)

These two Courses by Newspaper have been prepared specifically for the American Issues Forum, a national bicentennial program designed to encourage a dialogue among the American people on some of the issues that are fundamental to our society. Written by distinguished scholars and authors, these articles, appearing weekly in newspapers throughout the country, illuminate various aspects of the monthly Forum topics.

Daniel Aaron, Victor Thomas Professor of English and American Language and Literature at Harvard University, coordinated the course. Serving as assistant coordinators were Michael Parrish, Associate Professor of History at the University of California, San Diego, and Allen Weinstein, Professor of History and Director of the American Studies Program at Smith College.

Courses by Newspaper, a national program originated and administered by University Extension, University of California, San Diego, develops materials for college-level courses. Hundreds of newspapers and participating colleges and universities throughout the country cooperate in presenting these courses to the general public.

A series of weekly newspaper articles, written by a prominent "faculty," constitutes the "lectures" for each course; a supplementary book of readings and a study guide are also available to interested readers. Finally, colleges within the circulation area of participating newspapers offer the opportunity to meet with local professors and earn college credit.

The first Course by Newspaper, AMERICA AND THE FUTURE OF MAN, was offered in the fall of 1973, funded by grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities and a supplementary grant from the Exxon Education Foundation. The second course, IN SEARCH OF THE AMERICAN DREAM, appeared the following year. In the fall of 1975, more than 400 newspapers and 200 colleges presented the first segment of AMERICAN ISSUES FORUM. These papers reach more than 20 million subscribers. To date, more than 12,000 persons have taken Courses by Newspaper for credit.

The third and fourth Courses by Newspaper are fully funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities, a federal agency created in 1965 to support education, research, and public activity in the humanities. The American Issues Forum was also developed under the auspices of the National Endowment and co-sponsored by the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration. We gratefully acknowledge the support of the Endowment for this unique educational offering.

We also wish to thank United Press International and the National Newspaper Association, which cooperated in distributing the articles to participating newspapers across the country.

The views presented in these articles, however, are those of the authors only, and do not necessarily reflect the views of the University of California or of the funding and distributing agencies.

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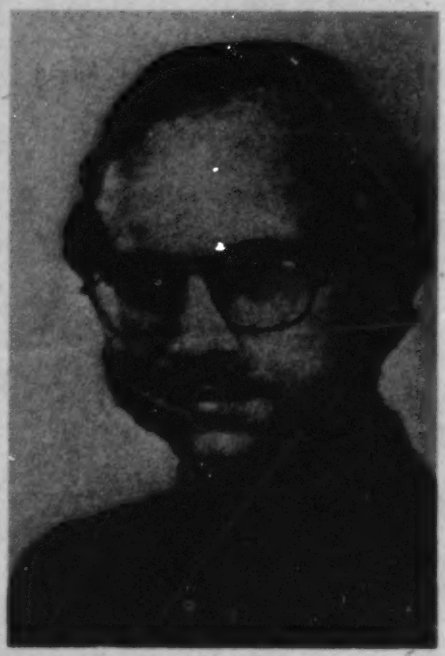
ABOUT THE AUTHOR



ALLEN WEINSTEIN is professor of history and director of the American Studies Program at Smith College, where he has been a member of the faculty since 1966. He has also taught abroad as a Fulbright lecturer and as a Guest Lecturer for the United States Information Agency. An assistant coordinator of the American Issues Forum Courses by Newspaper, he also coordinated the Voice of America Forum Series, "America in Crisis, 1776-1976." His books include *Prelude to Populism: Origins of the Silver Issue, 1867-1878*, *Freedom and Crisis: An American History*, and several books of readings.

1 — THE REVOLUTION ENSHRINED

By Allen Weinstein

National anniversaries like the Fourth of July have always been special to Americans. Commentators even in the early decades of the Republic noted our compulsion to mark our "festivals of national purpose" with special observances.

The founding fathers themselves ratified the revolutionary moment more casually. It was on July 2nd, not the 4th, that the Continental Congress formally adopted Richard Henry Lee's June 7th resolution "that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be free and independent States, that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved."

Although Congress adopted Jefferson's Declaration stating these facts on the hallowed Fourth, not until July 19th did it vote to inscribe the document on parchment, countless reproductions of the scene to the contrary. Nor was it even signed by delegates to the Continental Congress until August 2nd, with one of the "original" signers appending his name only in November. Doubtless he was waiting to examine more closely the betting odds on successful insurrection.

Even the signers conveniently revised their memories by the following year, when—in the midst of the revolutionary crisis—Congress falsified its own records to certify July 4th as *the* day it all began. It seemed more important to the Revolutionary elite to create an impression of decisiveness and national purpose.

We are hearing a similar call today to re-affirm the country's essential unity of purpose during the Bicentennial period. Not all Americans are persuaded. While the President spoke to thousands gathered at Lexington Green on the 200th anniversary of the "Minutemen's" struggle against British troops on that spot, additional thousands gathered nearby under the auspices of the "People's Bicentennial," ostensibly to protest the official ceremonies and to condemn American policies at home and abroad.

Such democratic celebrations, now as in the earliest days of the Republic, have actually confirmed a broad measure of *dis*unity over the Republic's policies and goals. Even during our initial Independence Day observances, Federalists competed with Jeffersonians in boisterous "Fourth of July" orations. Throughout those years, political passions ran high. Then and later, speakers turned independence anniversaries into occasions for partisan advantage while pleading for a renewal of national "cohesion."

THE SEMI-CENTENNIAL

The country's first super celebration, analogous to the Centennial or Bicentennial, took place in 1826. It was apparent then that the United States had survived its growing pains. Signs of a healthy adolescence were visible in a booming cotton production in the South, a fledgling factory system opening its doors throughout the North, and intensified exploration leading to settlement of the Western territories. So harmonious had the country's politics become, once the War of 1812 ended threats from abroad, that both political parties were on the verge of disappearing.

UPI COMPIX

CELEBRATING INDEPENDENCE. National celebrations serve to reaffirm our national purposes.

Happily, some of the country's original leaders lingered on into this new era of economic boom and political harmony, venerable symbols of a revolutionary past, with their archaic knee britches and quaint 18th century language and manners.

President John Quincy Adams invited these survivors, some of whom had signed the Declaration, to come to Washington for a solemn patriotic commemoration of the nation's birth. Many did, but among the absent—although still living—were Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, once mortal political enemies and now reconciled although both on their death beds.

"Virginia" and "Massachusetts" had become faithful correspondents again once the partisan battles of their presidential years receded in time. And in a coincidence deemed so extraordinary in that religious era, a "visible and palpable" sign of "Divine favor," Adams and Jefferson both died on July 4th, 1826, Jefferson at noon and Adams a few hours later. Their dying recorded words, perhaps legendary, still seemed profoundly (if not divinely) appropriate to the occasion of their leave-taking on America's semi-centennial day. Jefferson (to his doctor) "Is it the Fourth?"; Answer: "It will soon be." Adams: "Thomas Jefferson still survives."

"FESTIVALS OF JUSTIFICATION"

But such celebrations have historically served not only as reminders of our collective virtues but also as occasions for the expression of national anxieties. We have learned much from them—and will continue to learn during the Bicentennial—about the nature of America's apprehensions as well as its achievements. Still, whether in 1826 or 1976, such celebrations serve as measurements of the country's self-image, ceremonies of reaffirmation of our purposes—"festivals of justification," in the historian Daniel Boorstin's words, which become all the more necessary when these purposes seem unclear.

Few nations have engaged in such unrelenting orgies of self-justification as our own. Independence Day ceremonies, John Adams pointed out, reaffirmed "the principles and feelings which contributed to produce the Revolution." In the view of men like Adams and Jefferson who had actually fought for freedom, Americans born into the new republic without having experienced the Revolution itself, needed constant reminders of the reasons for which their forbears had struggled.

Those Americans who express understandable amusement at the Bicentennial's commercial excesses often betray an ignorance of the seriousness with which revolutionary countries—whether the United States, France, the Soviet Union or China—treat their respective dramas of national transformation.

Jefferson, for his part, was clear as to the underlying meaning of the Independence Day festivity he was too ill to attend. It signalled "the blessings and security of self-government . . ." It would open the eyes of the world "to the rights of man . . . [to] the palpable truth, that the mass of mankind has not been born with saddles on their back, nor a favored few, booted and spurred, ready to ride them legitimately, by the grace of God. These are grounds of hope for others; for ourselves, let the annual return of this day [July 4th] forever refresh our recollections of these rights, and an undiminished devotion to them."

Jefferson's defense of America's democratic, egalitarian mission contrasted painfully with the factual evidence of his own day: millions of blacks still enslaved throughout the South, America's women excluded from even rudimentary legal protection and personal opportunity, Indian nations like Georgia's Cherokees being pushed off their treaty lands by avaricious white settlers (only to be banished westward in the genocidal "Trail of Tears" a few years later by federal troops at President Andrew Jackson's orders), and a wealthy capitalist aristocracy and an urban proletariat germinating in the North's factory towns.

REAFFIRMING OUR FAITH

Today as in 1876, when the myths of a democratic community clash with many of the realities of American life, the avowal of our revolutionary aims at Fourth of July time can be understood more clearly. Writers and orators from President Jefferson to President Ford are not fools nor have they always been engaged in calculated self-deception or cynical exploitation of their audiences. Rather, they have tried to cope with an inherent tension in American history: the effort to adhere to an older set of ideals while, at the same time, confronting a mobile culture in pursuit of wealth and power.

For many, our traditions may appear noble—but irrelevant. To celebrate national cohesion at such times, whether in 1826 or now, is often to perform a vital act of generational communion, to avow (if only rhetorically) a vision of unity amidst social disorder.

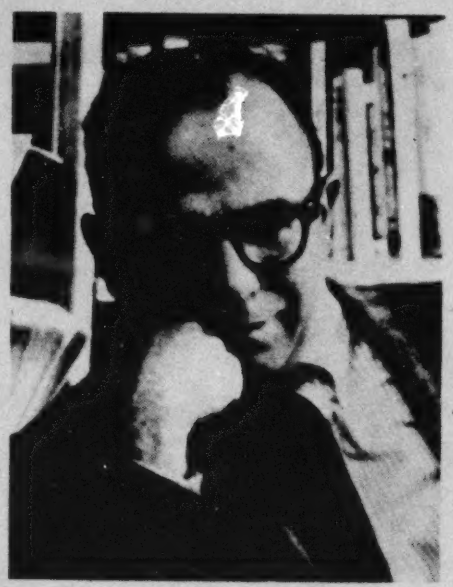
Affirming the possibility of cohesion, even within a more complex and fragmented society than the one envisaged by the Founding Fathers, was the semi-centennial's central goal in 1826, just as beginning the process of reconciling post-Vietnam Americans has become the dream of our own era's super-celebration.

The country will put the Bicentennial behind it soon enough. But despite our slim chances for achieving genuine cohesion, we should not take lightly the medicinal virtues contained in the rhetorical snake-oil of Bicentennial rhetoric. Our inherited values after all do continue to exert influence over our national behavior, even in today's media-drenched and swiftly changing society.

The four writers whose essays comprise this series demonstrate that essential truth, the ambiguous legacy of older American values: Robert Heilbroner in connection with the changing patterns of labor; Paul Samuelson for the economic context of American actions; Walter LaFeber in relation to the United States' tortured efforts to deal with a rambunctious world; and Neil Harris in studying our complex social and cultural patterns.

Each writer in his own way offers persuasive evidence to show how existing values have had to adjust or transform themselves in a new yet ever unsettled system of beliefs.

UNIT I
WORKING IN AMERICA



ABOUT THE AUTHOR

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2—THE CHANGING FACE OF LABOR

By Robert L. Heilbroner

UPI COMPIX

THE ASSEMBLY LINE. The assembly line is an efficient method of production but it demands that workers perform identical, monotonous tasks again and again.

For every people, work is a common shaping experience—the curse, the salvation, more rarely the joy, of everyday life. Certainly work has shaped American lives and thoughts, often more deeply than we are aware. "Mann ist was er isst" (Man is what he eats), said the German philosopher Feuerbach. But man is also what he does; and in the changing experience of doing, Americans have profoundly altered the nature of their existences.

One of the main attractions of America, to the first colonists, was a chance to work: one historian has quoted a Marblehead fisherman as saying, "Our ancestors came here not for religion. Their main end was to catch fish." They came also to ply a dozen trades whose names today sound quaint: wheelrights and smiths, coopers and joiners, drayers and saddlers. But mainly our ancestors came to work the soil. Even by 1815 only ten percent of the people in the Northeast lived or worked in "urban" areas of 2500 population or more, and a much smaller percentage in the South and West.

Thus the experience of work was indissolubly bound up with the rhythms of agriculture—sowing and reaping, busy seasons and slack ones. We look back with nostalgia on this "organic" quality of work, forgetting how bonecrushing were its tasks, how parochial its outlook. Today only one working person in twenty still comes into contact with the soil. What we often fail to recognize is how total was the change in our work experience from its agricultural origins, and how difficult that change was to bring about.

"THE DARK, SATANIC MILLS"

For when the first amateurish cotton mills were established—forerunners of the industrial America to come—their intrepid entrepreneurs had a hard time procuring a labor force willing to enter the mills. Answering a census query of the Secretary of the Treasury in 1833, one mill owner expressed his fears that "we shall not be able to operate our machinery another year for want of hands." The grim reputation of the mills had preceded their advent, frightening the farmers of New England as much as Thomas Jefferson who saw the "yeoman farmer" as the backbone of democracy. Moreover, unlike England, where sheer economic pressure forced men, women and children into the "dark satanic mills," in the relatively free and expansive United States, no such powerful recruiting agent could be relied upon.

How, then, were the mills staffed? The answer was finally provided by Francis Cabot Lowell, son of a comfortable Boston mercantile family, who recognized that he could not run his power-loom mills without a steady work force. Accordingly, he set out to attract such a force by building dormitories, staffing them with house mistresses of unimpeachable reputation, and then scouring the countryside for young girls who would accept

two or three years of mill work in exchange for a kind of finishing school education as well as wages.

The boarding system attracted the attention of reformers around the world. Charles Dickens came in 1842 and scrutinized the factory girls with care. "I cannot recall, or separate," he wrote in his *American Notes*, "one young face that gave me a painful expression; not one young girl whom, assuming it to be a matter of necessity that she should gain her daily bread by the labour of her hands, I would have removed from those works if I could have."

The Lowell mills never employed more than a small fraction of America's work force, but they signalled a turning away from agricultural to industrial pursuits and introduced a new aspect to the national work experience. In 1810 only 75,000 persons were employed in manufacturing establishments of all kinds; but by 1840 the number was ten times that; by 1900 it had again multiplied almost ten fold.

"THE MOUTH OF HELL"

The process of industrialization is perhaps the most important theme in American economic history, but what interests us here is the effect that it had for the collective work experience of Americans. For the Lowell mills were only a short-lived stage in a process whose next dramatic turn was exemplified by the emergence of another kind of mill—the great blaring plants of the steel industry that began to rise around Pittsburgh in the 1870s.

Here the technology of the new Bessamer process, the driving pace set by steelmasters like Andrew Carnegie gave a wholly new face to the tasks of labor. "The lot of a skilled workman," said Carnegie, "is far better than that of the heir to an hereditary title, who is likely to lead an unhappy wicked life."

But Hamlin Garland, the novelist, saw a different side to skilled labor in the Homestead plant: "Everywhere the enormous sheds were pits gaping like the mouth of hell, and ovens emitting a terrible degree of heat . . . one man jumps down, works desperately for a few minutes, and is then pulled up exhausted." Here the normal work day was twelve hours long, with a twenty-four hour stint every two weeks when the night and day gangs exchanged shifts.

Steeltown was not the "norm" of work experience in the last quarter of the 19th century any more than the Lowell mills had been in the first quarter. But the steel mill symbolized another attribute of work that stamped the American consciousness—the brutality of the work process. Yet, like the Lowell mill, the steel mill was only a milestone. Within a generation it had been replaced by yet another work milieu, the assembly line.

"THE ASSEMBLY LINE"

Actually, the assembly line was operating in Cincinnati slaughterhouses as early as 1850. Rows of men could transform a carcass, traveling before them on an overhead conveyor track, from hog to pork within a matter of minutes. Later Henry Ford simply perfected the idea of moving work along before stationary workers, each of whom performed his specialized task on the work object. The object itself was raised to waist or shoulder height to prevent the time and energy lost in stooping. Each task was studied to see how it could be subdivided and simplified and thereby quickened. Each tributary of subassembly was fed into the main river of production at precisely the right moment.

And work? The sheer brutality of the steel mills was no longer evident: it was not an "efficient" way to organize work. With power tools and hydraulic lifts, conveyor belts and suspended tools, it did not take muscular strength to man many of the assembly line posts (although some "heavy labor" remained for many years). It took the ability—or was it the resignation?—to perform identical tasks again and again.

"WHITE COLLAR WORLD"

We shall have more to say in subsequent articles about the effects of monotonous labor. But a survey of the changing face of labor in America would not be complete without noting the emergence of "white collar work." Today, in the mid 1970s, almost three out of every four working Americans perform some kind of white collar job—selling, clerking, calculating, "pushing papers," teaching, administering.

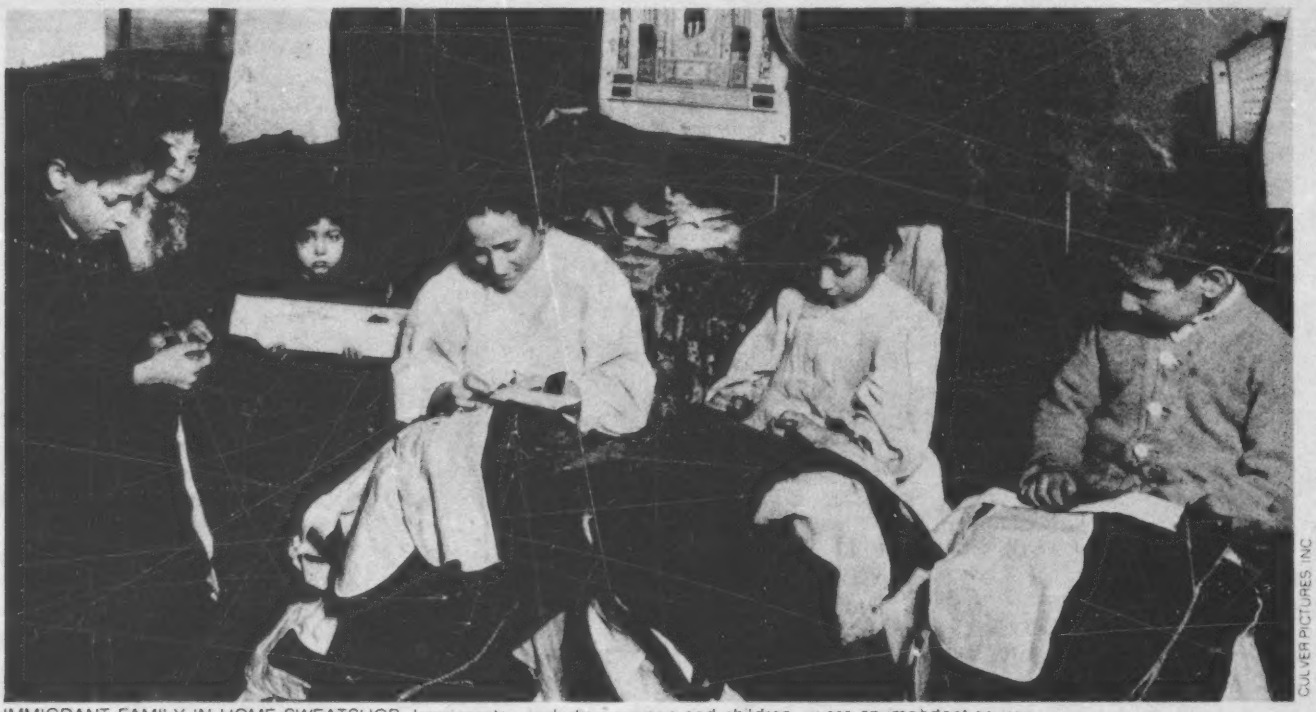
Many white collar workers, such as punch card operators, are no more than "factory workers" dressed in different garb and working in pleasanter surroundings. Some are highly skilled professionals, some are self-employed, some are harried drudges. Yet all white collar work is divorced from the contact with nature or with raw materials that is the very essence of work on the farm or in the factory. The experience of work has become curiously distanced from the physical objects that still constitute the underpinnings of what we call "wealth."

Thus the experience of work in America has changed, almost out of all recognition. More and more, work has become a kind of shadow process—a web of tasks through which we have to peer to discern the cultivation and extraction and shaping and transportation that still constitute the fundamental processes by which our society nourishes and sustains itself.

All this is part of a division of labor that now extends to every corner of our collective lives. It is part, too, of a technological process in which more and more "services" are inextricably associated with the provision of "goods." As we shall see in future articles, this profound alteration in the character of work has exerted far-reaching effects in our attitudes toward labor and leisure, as well as in the actual tasks that we perform.

3—THE CHANGING LABOR FORCE

By Robert L. Heilbroner



CULVER PICTURES, INC.

IMMIGRANT FAMILY IN HOME SWEATSHOP. Immigrants—including women and children—were an important source of labor for industrial America.

The drastic shift in the nature of work over 200 years of American life, which we traced in the last article, was paralleled by a profound change in the character and variety of the labor force.

The original work force in America was the (largely) free, (almost wholly) white, and mainly English settlers drawn to this beckoning continent by a variety of motives, of which land hunger was certainly not least. It was a common observation in the 17th and early 18th centuries that wages in America were high because "labor" was scarce. Land was so cheap that indentured servants or casual laborers could fairly easily save up enough to buy a small tract of land to farm, thereby removing themselves from the market for wage labor.

Only in the South was the labor force significantly different. Slavery had been introduced into the South together with its first settlers, but at first its growth was slow. As late as 1670 white indentured servants in Virginia outnumbered black slaves three to one. By the turn of the century, however, slavery became more extensive. After the invention of the cotton gin in 1793 (which overnight changed cotton from a marginal to an immensely profitable commodity) slaves eventually became some three-fifths of the Southern work force.

Volumes have been written about slavery and we will not review that fearful problem here. What interests us is the claim recently advanced by two economic historians that blacks were not, in the main, physically abused or "underpaid" (in terms of the diet, shelter and clothing they received, for they were paid no money wages). Indeed, some scholars have argued recently that the material well-being of the slave was superior to that of many free farm workers of the North!

FORCED LABOR

What, then, was the special importance of slavery as a mode of organizing work? There are those who maintain that the crucial difference was the ability of slaveowners to form work "gangs"—a kind of agricultural version of the assembly line. These gangs, pursuing their regular way across the fields, picking or "hoeing down," proved to be much more productive than farm workers pursuing their individual tasks. Their productivity was gained, however, at the expense of submitting to the enforced discipline of a labor battalion, a coercion to which free farm workers would not submit.

Few historians deny that unfree labor could be forced to perform work in ways that free labor could not. Moreover, we find a remarkable parallel to the Southern experience if we look again at the Lowell girls we have met in our previous article.

By the 1840s the recruiting agents of the cotton mills were seeking labor as far away as upstate New York and Canada. As the conditions of work in the mills steadily worsened, young women were no longer so easily tempted into the mills. As early as the 1830s, the factory girls had walked out on strike, notwithstanding edifying lectures by Ralph Waldo Emerson. And within a decade em-

ployers began to look for another source of labor willing and able to undertake a 74-hour work week and the quickening pace of work without protest.

THE IMMIGRANT STREAM

They found that source in the growing stream of Irish, German, and later Eastern European immigrants who were beginning to flow into Boston. The names on the factory lists in Chicopee, Mass., changed from Mehitabel Boston and Wealthy Snow to Bridget Murphy and Patrick Moriarty. "By 1850," writes Caroline Ware, a historian of this change, "the white-gowned girls who marched to welcome Presidents and who talked so intelligently to foreign visitors, who wrote poetry and stories filled with classical allusions, were no longer to be found in the mills."

One historian has called immigration a "great referendum on American conditions"; and there is no question that the referendum showed the superiority of conditions here over those in Europe. Between 1820 and 1840 immigration rose from roughly 40,000 to 90,000 per year; by 1850 it had swollen to nearly a half million per year.

The growing torrent of new arrivals was a major source of a new kind of labor—labor that, like slavery, would take on work repugnant to the relatively better-off native-born Americans. Between 1832 and 1955, immigration supplied half the increase in the American work force and significantly eased the problem of finding hands to do "the dirty work."

As we have seen, the immigrant was soon recruited into the mill towns or herded into labor gangs that built the network of canals and primitive railroads essential for American economic growth. In miserable camps, immigrant laborers were exposed to bitter cold in winter and malaria in the summer. An estimated 5 percent of these workers were broken each year by "fever and ague."

The immigrant also provided manpower for the brutal work of the steel mills. Frederick Lewis Taylor, the father of "scientific management," wrote baldly about the thick accents of the men he cajoled, bullied, and shaped into "efficient" shovelers and haulers. When he talked about the results of his system in "upgrading" labor, he candidly admitted that the "dirt-handling is done by Italians and Hungarians."

Outside the steel mills, immigrants also provided an "underclass" of docile workmen. Upton Sinclair, describing the "jungle" of the Chicago stockyards, talked of the "Hunkies" and "Polacks" who performed their work in a sea of blood and a miasma of fetid stench. Meanwhile, in the West pigtailed Chinese toiled on the transcontinental rail lines. Later, foreign workers supplanted native born Americans on Ford's assembly lines in Detroit. They were less susceptible to unionization, less imbued with an American resistance to authority.

CHILDREN IN THE FACTORIES

Two other sources of labor fed into the "underclass" that spearheaded the adaptation of the work force to onerous tasks. One of these was children. The early cotton mills in New England, much as in old England, looked to children as a substantial part of their work force: in 1831 in Rhode Island, not quite half the mill force of 8500 was less than twelve years of age. Thereafter child labor in factories (children had always worked on the farm) spread to the South and West. Not until the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 were juveniles effectively barred from work.

The importance of child labor is far overshadowed by another "soft" element in the labor supply. This was the gradual entry of women into the labor force. More precisely, it was the slow emancipation of women from the unpaid labor of the household, and their introduction into the labor movement as competitors for jobs against men.

THE WOMAN WORKER

We have already seen the initial entry of women in the Lowell mills. Yet the importance of women workers did not lie in manufacturing industry, a few special industries, such as textile or clothing, excepted. The radical change took place with the rise of the service sector as the burgeoning center of work. The first "secretaries," stenographers, telephone operators, store clerks were men. Beginning at the end of the last century, one by one these occupations became the province of women.

Overall the change has been extraordinary. In 1890 only 18 percent of all females "worked"—that is, entered the labor market for money. In 1975 over 45 percent of all females work. Today the average American young woman marries in her early twenties, goes on to raise a family, and thereafter enters the labor force to work for an average of twenty-five years! Yet, for all the importance of the tasks she performs, the woman worker has traditionally been paid less than men, even for exactly the same work. Today women still average only 60 percent as much as men for equal work.

We have hardly begun to describe the full extent of the changes in America's working population. But we have seen enough to make two important generalizations. First, there has always been a relatively weak portion of the labor force—slaves, immigrants, children, women—ready to undertake tasks rejected by white, male, native-born Americans or to undertake those tasks for less pay. This "underclass" has played an important role in providing the labor power for the expansive thrust of American capitalism. Second, like work itself, the workforce has changed dramatically in response to changing demands of technology and organization. How will it change in the future? That too is a problem we shall have to explore.

4—THE WORK ETHIC

By Robert L. Heilbroner

WORK IS WHAT I WANT. Americans have long been known for their dedication to work. The inability to find jobs during the Depression was a shattering experience for many.

"Seest thou a man Diligent in his Business?" asked Cotton Mather in 1695. "He shall stand before Kings . . . Let Business ingross most of your time." The famous Boston clergyman and scholar was not only talking about trade and commerce. He was also preaching about work and attitudes to work. His sentiments are an early expression of that Puritan ethic embodied in Beniamin Franklin's homely dictum that *time was money.*

Certainly Americans have always been known for their dedication to work. In the 1850s, a British Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry contrasted the industriousness of the American workman with his English counterpart. After World War II, a similar British Commission again attributed the extraordinary momentum of American economic growth in part to its hardworking workmen.

Moreover, Americans have traditionally regarded their work habits with pride. Samuel Gompers, the first President of the American Federation of Labor, fought valiantly to reduce the length of the working day. But when testifying before a U.S. Industrial Commission, he recited almost with relish the superiority of American workers over Europeans: "[I]n every mechanical trade, when European workmen come over to this country and stand beside their fellow American workingmen, it simply dazes them—the velocity of motion, the deftness, the quickness, the constant strain. The European bricklayer, the European carpenter, the European compositor-printer, the European tailor comes over here and works in the shop, or factory, or office, and he is simply intoxicated with the rapidity of the movements of the American workingman, and it is some months, with the greatest endeavor, before he can come at all near the American workman."

Probably this American work ethic was, in part, the expression of a Puritan belief in the purgative aspects of work—a blending of work attitudes and religious attitudes that Max Weber, the great German sociologist, thought integral to the capitalist spirit.

In part it was also forced on us by the hell-for-leather atmosphere characteristic of American capitalism from its beginning. Freed from the lingering hindrances of European guild customs, the American entrepreneur worked his men (and women) harder than his Continental counterparts. The mill worker in Chicopee tended more spindles than the mill worker in England, and the cotton yarn ran faster.

GETTING AHEAD

But perhaps the main reason why the American worked so hard was that he wanted to "get ahead" in a country where hard work was thought to pay off in income and status. Moreover, it did. The historian Stephan Thernstrom, investigating the life careers of working class individuals in the Boston area between 1910 and 1963, discovered that one quarter of all men who entered the labor market as manual workers ended up in middle class positions; that a third of all youths born into working class homes became clerks, salesmen or small proprietors (and one tenth became professionals or substantial businessmen); and that four out of every ten children of unskilled or semiskilled workers ended up in white collar jobs.

Recent though those findings are, they seem already to refer to a bygone era. For what we hear about these days is not so much the work ethic as the fun morality, not so much the philosophy of Horatio Alger as that of "welfarism." Are traditional attitudes toward working changing? Is leisure rather than labor the national preoccupation?

THE PURSUIT OF LEISURE

The question is not easy to answer. Without doubt leisure is a growing concern for Americans who today spend $50 billions a year on "recreation" (not including travel). Large numbers of Americans (7 percent of all families in 1973) live on welfare.

And the young people who have taken up lives of meditation or drug experiences, or who have simply "dropped out," offer irrefutable evidence of a fundamental change in work attitudes.

Yet, on examination, the changes are more complex than we sometimes imagine. Take, for instance, the trend to leisure enjoyments. Actually Americans have long

sought a shorter work week: one of the first aims of the AFL was the attainment of an eight hour day and a six day week. Yet, despite the reduction of working hours to a national average of about 45 by the end of the 1930s, *there has been essentially no reduction in working hours per week since the end of World War II.* Indeed, during these years the number of people working more than 48 hours a week rose from 13 to 20 percent of the work force, and some 5 percent of the labor force actually held two full-time jobs during the late 1960s—for white married men, the figure was substantially higher.

The prevalence of "moonlighting" (although usually on a part time basis) suggests that the work ethic may not have changed as much as we think. And the same conclusion is forced on us if we examine the supposed modern reluctance of Americans to do "hard" work.

As we have seen in the previous article, it has always been difficult to persuade native, white males to do the many kinds of work which were performed by slaves, immigrants, children, women. Thus today, when considerable unemployment exists side by side with unfilled demands for delivery boys or domestic servants, we are again witnessing an old rather than a new phenomenon. There are thresholds of unpleasantness that Americans will not willingly cross, if they can afford not to; and the difficulty of employers in filling certain kinds of jobs indicates less an increasing distaste for work than an increasing ability to refuse menial or dead-end jobs.

JOB ACCEPTABILITY

Of course this rising threshold of job acceptability has been aided by a structure of public support, ranging from enemployment insurance to public welfare. Yet many surveys indicate that most welfare recipients would much prefer to earn an income at a "decent" job than to exist as public wards. Thus existence of a substantial welfare population testifies to the failure of the economy to provide acceptable work as much as it does to the growth of a "welfare state" mentality.

Indeed, the rising threshold of job acceptability relates directly to the question of changing work attitudes in America. One by one, over the last century, we have seen "fringe benefits" associated with work move from exceptions to rules, from privileges accorded only to a minority to practices expected by the majority. From coffee breaks to sick leaves, from two day weekends to two week (and now often three or even four week) vacations; from death benefits to pensions; from the right to join unions to the right to have a voice in management itself, the idea of an "acceptable job" has widened. This widening of expectations has led to what one social psychologist calls a contemporary philosophy of "entitlement."

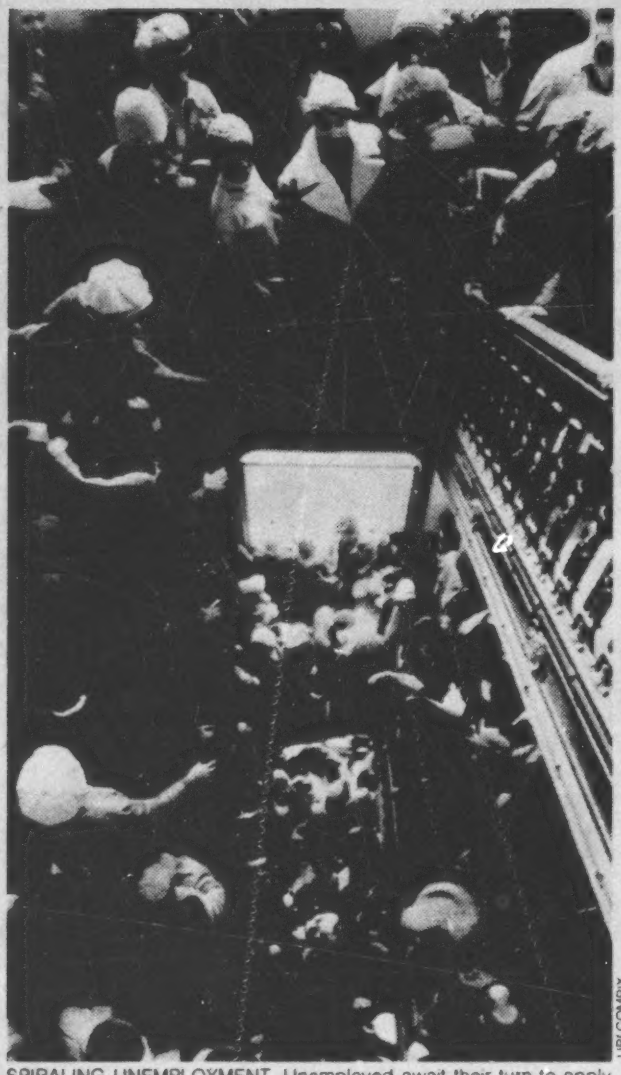
Does the growth of such a philosophy signify a decline in the work ethic? Better, perhaps, to think of it as the democratization of expectations about work that have always been evident at the top but were denied to, or not even imagined by, the bottom.

This democratization is the result of many factors, not least the rise in the years of schooling enjoyed by Americans. The percentage of the labor force with a better-than-high school education has risen from 6.4 percent in 1900 to 66.9 percent in 1971. Economists attribute much of our economic growth to this growing stock of "human capital"—the education embodied in the working population. But no less important a consequence has been a steady increase in the minimum demands of entrants into the labor force as to the conditions of work.

These considerations should make us cautious about concluding too quickly that the work ethic in America has changed out of all recognition. Yet, when all allowances are made, one suspects that there *is* a change, although it is difficult to know how deep or widespread it may be. Beyond the philosophy of entitlement there seems to lie a new philosophy of indifference, even of hostility, to work. Who has not be exposed to the solvenly repairs of a bored mechanic, the total absence of interest of a store clerk, the outright aggression of a hospital attendant? These experiences have become part of our national repertoire of humor, surely a sign that they are widely shared. In our next article we will speculate on the reasons that may account for these new attitudes toward work.

5—BEYOND WORK: PROBLEMS FOR THE FUTURE

Robert L. Heilbroner



UPI/COMPIX

SPIRALING UNEMPLOYMENT. Unemployed await their turn to apply for civil service jobs. Can our society provide enough jobs—of an acceptable nature—in the years ahead?

What can we foresee as the major problems of work for the next twenty-five years? In the preceding articles, we have been examining changes in the work experience over the past—the changing nature of work, the changing composition of the work force, the changing attitude toward work. But what of the future?

One problem, brought home to us today by our current recession, is whether there will be *enough* work, whether *un*employment will be a pressing issue during the next two and a half decades. Many Americans don't realize how crushing unemployment can be. In 1973 a college president took an unusual sabbatical leave and worked at menial jobs—dishwasher, porter, garbageman. On one occasion he was fired and experienced at first hand what it was like to be without work. "I'd never been fired and I'd never been unemployed," he wrote later. "For three days I walked the streets. Though I had a bank account, though my childrens' tuition was paid, though I had a salary and a job waiting for me, I was demoralized. I had no inkling of how [people] feel when they lose their job and their confidence begins to sink."

How many Americans have experienced the loss of income and self-confidence that comes with a failure to find work? The number has varied as our economy has worked well or badly. Before 1929 the number of unemployed ranged from about 2 percent to as high as 10 percent of the labor force. Then during the Great Depression it rose to 25 percent of the working population—one worker in four fruitlessly looking for work. During the long boom of the 1950s and 1960s roughly 3 percent of workers were without jobs, many of them voluntarily as they left one job to look for a better one. In the present recession the unemployment rate has been as high as 10 percent—the highest since 1940.

EXPANDING THE SERVICE SECTOR

Can we make a projection about the future? Much depends on how successfully we can *manage* our economy, for the amount of unemployment in the future will doubtless reflect, far more than in the past, our ability to plan our economic life. And already we can see certain broad problems that will require economic planning.

One of these will be the need to generate jobs in the service sector of the economy. For if we look back over 75 years of economic history, we can see that there has been a great streaming of work out of agriculture, "through" the factory (the manufacturing sector), into the service sector with its offices and shops:

Sector	Percent Distribution of Employed Workers	
	1900	1975
Agriculture	38	4
Manufacturing	38	32
Service	24	64

We have noted this burgeoning sector in an earlier article when we paid attention to the entry of women into the labor force. But now we can see that the displacement of labor from the farm, and the relatively steady proportion of total employment in manufacturing, has meant that the provision of enough work has depended on the demand for the varied occupations of the service sector. Will that sector continue to grow? Will it offer new jobs to match our growing population and the still swelling entry of female job-seekers into the job market?

Much depends on the development of that extraordinary technology with humanoid abilities to "see" and sort and calculate, that we call "automation". It is basically

machines that have displaced labor from the farms and that have regulated its employment in manufacturing. In the service industries, machinery has been relatively late in making its powers felt. But today we seem to be at the verge of a new range of machine applications to service jobs, from sophisticated check sorters in banks to "simple" coffee or cigarette dispensing equipment that nonetheless replaces human workers.

Will these new machines constrict the labor-absorptive, employment-generating capabilities of the service sector? They may. In that case, where will employment be found? In all likelihood it would have to be deliberately created by the public sector as part of a national planning effort.

We do not yet know whether we can provide the jobs —say in the care of the aged or in the repair of the cities —that population growth and machine displacement may require. Perhaps more difficult will be the task of providing jobs for the particular groups most in need of them. For joblessness is not a curse evenly distributed among the population. Today, for example, the proportion of unemployed married men is less than half the national average for unemployment, whereas among black teenagers in the central cities unemployment rates are catastrophic—up to 40 and 50 percent. Thus the challenge of the future lies not only in creating "jobs," but in creating work that can be filled by a very unevenly qualified work force. Remembering our growing belief that individuals are entitled to meaningful work, the challenge also lies in creating work acceptable to a population that demands more of a job than mere drudgery for pay.

ALIENATED WORKERS

The problem of creating meaningful work, whether in the public or the private sector, brings us to a second central issue of the future. Considerable evidence on the rising levels of job dissatisfaction provides an important explanation of indifference or hostility to work. A Special Task Force of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare reported in 1973 that "significant numbers of Americans are dissatisfied with the quality of their working lives . . . Much of the greatest work dissatisfaction [is found] among young well-educated workers . . . Signs of discontent among this group include turnover rates as high as 20 percent annually and a 46 percent increase in white-collar union membership between 1958 and 1968 . . . A survey conducted . . . among a cross section of office employees found that they were producing at only 55 percent of their potential. Among the reasons cited for this was boredom and repetitive jobs."

Can this "alienation" be cured? We do not really know. In part it reflects a sweeping change in the independence of the working force. Back in 1800 perhaps three-quarters of the population worked for itself, mainly on the farm. Today 90 percent of the population works for someone else. In this profound change in the relationship of work and independent economic status undoubtedly lies one source of our contemporary malaise.

A second source lies in the experience of monotonous toil. Adam Smith, writing in *The Wealth of Nations* (1776) foresaw the effects of the division of labor in manufacturing employments, and warned that the repetitive performance of one or two simple tasks would drain the worker of his native intelligence, making him "as stupid as it is possible for a human creature to become."

Much work in America is repetitive and boring, despite a seeming shift out of "unskilled" labor into the presumably more demanding tasks performed by "semi-skilled" workers. But as the labor economist Harry Braverman has remarked, "It is only in the world of census statistics, and not in terms of direct assessment, that an assembly line worker is presumed to have greater skill than a fisherman or an oysterman, the forklift operator greater skill than the gardener or groundskeeper . . ., the parking lot attendant greater skill than the lumberman or the raftsman."

REVERSING THE TREND

Is it possible to reverse this trend toward greater alienation? The chances of reestablishing independent, self-employed work seem very small in the face of the efficiency and expansiveness of business enterprise in general and the large corporation in particular. More promising are the possibilities of altering the conditions of machine-dominated, routinized work. Experiments in job "enrichment," in job switching, in team labor and worker consultation have begun in a few firms.

In Sweden the Volvo motor company has largely abandoned the assembly line, rearranging workers into teams who feel a deeper identification with "their" output. In Germany we have a tentative effort to give workers a voice on boards of directors; in Yugoslavia the practice of "workers' control" has been carried much further, at least on paper.

But the problem remains a deep and recalcitrant one. As Peter Drucker, internationally famed management consultant, wrote in 1954, "the industrial world [is] divided into two classes of people: a few who decide what is to be done, design the job, set the pace, rhythm and motions, and order others about; and the many who do what and as they are being told."

Clearly the problem of work that we have been investigating is integrally connected with a much larger matter—the adaptation of capitalism itself to the changing demands and pressures of our time. The fate of capitalism no doubt rests on many developments rooted in its dynamic properties, but we now see that not the least of these will be its success in providing not only enough work, but good enough work. That issue may very well determine whether or not capitalism survives.

UNIT II

"THE BUSINESS OF AMERICA . . .": BUYING AND SELLING

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

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6—PRIVATE ENTERPRISE AS AN AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

By Paul A. Samuelson

CULVER PICTURES, INC.

CASTING SHADOWS: RAGS TO RICHES. Private enterprise permitted poor immigrants to amass large fortunes, but the new tycoons often forgot their own backgrounds. Keppler cartoon from Punch.

"The business of America is business." This much criticized statement of President Calvin Coolidge was written during the roaring 1920s, when people in Main Street were speculating frantically in Wall Street in the hope of becoming rich.

Yet there is a germ of truth in its half truth. American society has been from its very beginning a dollar-oriented civilization. "Money talks" has been our watchword. It takes generations in the older cultures of Europe for a low-born person to move into the uppercrust. Not in a hundred years could the brilliant but poor scientist, Michael Faraday, become a Duke in Victorian England. But the wife of Cornelius Vanderbilt could, in that same period, buy her way into high society and even into a commanding position.

The U.S. economy still relies today predominantly on the marketplace—on the push and pull of supply and demand, on the signaling device of high or low prices and wages—to determine *what* goods will be produced, *how* they are to be produced, and how they are *to be distributed* among the rich, poor, and middle classes.

Edwin Land invented the polaroid instant-developing camera and thereby attained wealth in the hundreds of millions of dollars. No one decided this: no planning committee, no panel of scientists, no act of Congress.

Patty Hearst's great-grandfather laid claim to a mountain of silver, and this meant that her grandfather, William Randolph Hearst, could control a chain of newspapers and stock his castle at San Simeon, California with the art treasures of all the world.

The great philosopher and psychologist William James and the no less great novelist brother, Henry James, were able to acquire their unusual educations because their grandfather, a poor immigrant from Ireland, became so successful in the construction trade that he could die a millionaire—and this in the early nineteenth century when a million meant pretty much what a score of millions would mean today.

Not everyone picks a lucky number in the ruthless lottery of historic capitalism. In the sweepstakes of monetary success, the biblical precept applies. Many are called but few are chosen. Abraham Lincoln put it well when he said: "God must have loved the common man, he made so many of them."

Yet in America the lot of the common man seemed measurably better than in the countries our immigrants left behind. Not a few came to our shores looking for freedom. But most came here looking for bread, for a better economic life. And on this vast and well-endowed continent they generally did find a higher standard of liv-

ing. Our streets were not paved with gold, but American prairies and factories did turn out almost from the beginning the world's highest level of per capita real income.

It is harder for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than a rich man to enter into heaven—or to be humble. Complacency and boasting were mentioned as characteristic American traits by foreign visitors from earliest days, and the affluent frontiersman who boasted, "I am a self-made man," never noticed that his twin brother back in the old country worked as hard and intelligently—but for less. Blessed with much land per family, with bountiful mines and favorable climatic conditions—and blessed also, it must be conceded, with a set of brand new institutions that liberated the "Yankee Ingenuity" of Mayflower descendants and of their Irish, German, Scandinavian, Polish, and Italian contemporaries—each person had to be only reasonably diligent on this continent in order to earn more than his parents and grandparents had done or than his fellow humans abroad ever could.

FREE ENTERPRISE: LEGEND AND MYTH

We Americans were complacent not only about our personal excellences; we also grew up knowing that our so-called "free enterprise system" was the doggone best system that had been devised anywhere in the world. It "produced the goods"—namely a widely shared material well-being.

Almost as soon as we could read, we learned that Captain John Smith had tried the route of socialism in the 1609 Virginia Colony. It just had not worked. Only when Captain Smith pragmatically scrapped utopia and declared, "He who will not work shall not eat," did the wilderness flower and man's lot improve. In the social sciences where the controlled laboratory experiments of the natural sciences cannot be practised, hearsay myths like this take on the semblance of truth and harden into dogma.

Yet up until the year 1929 one can fairly say that the pure capitalistic ethic was dominant in American life. As a boy I read in the *Saturday Evening Post*—and in the *American Magazine*, and what could be more American than that?—about heroes. Who were these heroes? They were Henry Ford, Alva Edison, Harvey Firestone, John Wanamaker, the Americanized Dutch immigrant, Edward Bok, Judge Gary of U.S. Steel. If I saved my pennies, changed my underclothes, and waited for the main chance, I too might be a success.

Indeed, with a little luck, I might engineer a corner in wheat on the Chicago Board of Trade and be embalmed in a muckraker's novel. Or like John D. Rockefeller, I could in the last phase of my life hire a public relations expert, like Ivy Lee, who would show me how to improve my image while distributing dimes to country club caddies, any one of whom might hope to become a millionaire. (And like John D. Rockefeller, I could also use "God's gold" to found a great university on the Chicago Midway and to endow a foundation whose largesse would help develop hybrid wheat and rice strains to create a veritable "green revolution" for the starving Asians.)

It is easy, only too easy, to find fault with the market as the organizer of economic life. At the heyday of Victorian Capitalism, the potato fungus in Ireland caused harvest failure. Looking back from the vantage point of history, we can agree that acts of God and of the Queen's enemy will always happen, but it seems that only under unadulterated capitalism are the acts of God permitted to result in millions of deaths from starvation in lands as prosperous as those of Western Europe and North America.

As Americans, we can truly say, "We're the greatest!" Even our depressions are on the heroic scale. The "great depression" of the late 1830s undid the hopes of the Democrat Martin Van Buren, just as the "great depression" of the 1930s was to undo the hopes of the Republican Herbert Hoover. And it was during the "great depression" of post-Civil War decades that Mary Elizabeth Lease could harangue Kansans to "raise less corn and more Hell."

BALANCE SHEET OF ACCOMPLISHMENT

The science of political economy cannot be based on anecdotes, however colorful or lurid. What in 1929 could a fairminded analyst conclude from a dispassionate survey of American experiences with a century and a half of largely unfettered market capitalism?

On the *asset side* he could tally up this:

1. The world's *highest average* standard of economic life in the U.S.

2. Despite skewed divergences between rich, poor, and middle classes, the careful statistician would find *a bit more equality of income distribution* in the new continent of North America than in the old lands of Europe and Asia.

3. Dynamic rate of *material progress* as population and industrial productivity seemed destined to grow forever.

On the *liability side* the diligent historian would have to record:

1. *Periodic business cycles* and the highest average rate of unemployment of any of the leading countries of the world.

2. Definite *signs of social stratification* appearing, as fewer and fewer farm boys traversed the route of the Horatio Alger, Jr. plucky heroes in their rendezvous with affluence and industrial power.

3. An uneasy *tension between the forces of competition and monopoly*. The Sherman Anti-Trust Acts, and other acts designed to fend off the turn-of-the-century movement toward cartels, pools, trusts, and oligopolies, seemed to languish in the post-World-War-I "normalcy." Under the purloined name of the "American Plan," the chambers of commerce of Southern California fought ruthlessly against the weak pre-1929 labor unions.

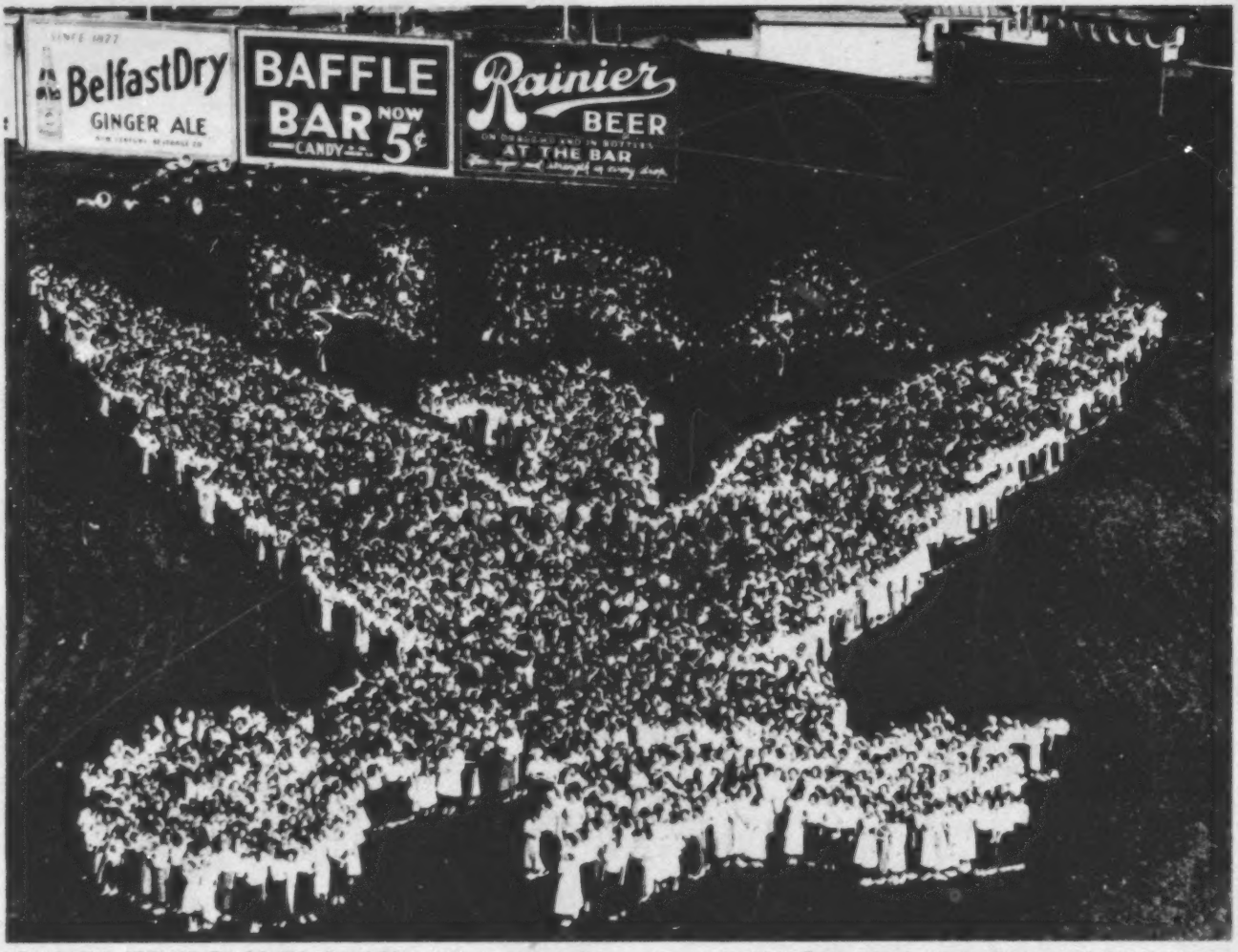
4. *Most people dying broke.* All too many of them also lived out their years of retirement without private pensions or for that matter public pensions, and this long after Bismarck and Gladstone had initiated social security systems in Germany and Britain.

5. Worst of all, although the keenest analyst would be forgiven for not realizing it in the 1929 high-noon of capitalism, *devastating world depression was just around the corner.*

This depression would undermine democracies abroad, breeding dictatorships and a terrible war. It would, once and for all, terminate America's innocent belief in the beneficence of unfettered and undiluted free enterprise.

7—THE AMERICAN MIXED ECONOMY

By Paul A. Samuelson



URI COMPIX

NRA EAGLE FORMED BY SCHOOLCHILDREN, 1933. Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal helped create the modern mixed economy.

The Great Depression brought Hitlerian dictatorship to Europe and led to World War II. In America it brought the end of undiluted capitalism and the birth of the modern mixed economy.

SOMETHING NEW UNDER THE SUN

Like the historic British Empire, the post-New-Deal world was conceived in a fit of absentmindedness. Franklin Delano Roosevelt campaigned in 1932 on a platform of budget-balancing economy. Despite this rhetoric, after his election events took over to accelerate the role of government in economic life.

What Alexander Hamilton, John Adams, and James Madison tried to guard against—the attempt by populist democracy to infringe on the rights of property—came to pass in the middle third of the 20th century. The worst fears of Lord Macaulay were realized: the numerical superiority of poor and low income voters caused them, out of that same self-interest which Adam Smith had expected to operate in the day-to-day higgling of the market, to legislate redistributive income taxation and massive welfare expenditures for the needy, the handicapped, and the aged. What Karl Marx ridiculed as sentimentality—the mobilization of class interests to ameliorate conditions of the majority by *peaceful gradualism*—in fact became the dominant pattern of post-1929 history.

What is this mixed economy that prevails not only in North America, but in Sweden and Switzerland as well, and in Western Germany, Great Britain, Japan, France, Australia, and Austria?

Is it, as Joseph Schumpeter of Vienna and Harvard prophesied in his mid-century *Socialism, Capitalism and Democracy*, a case of "Capitalism in an oxygen tent," a half-way hotel on the road to socialism? Or is it the utopia toward which life evolved out of the ocean's slime and for which personkind climbed down from the trees?

PORTRAIT OF THE SYSTEM

Typically, a mixed economy is *a mixture of market forces and government controls.* Most of the Gross National Product, more than 85 percent of all goods and services, is still produced within the market system of supply and demand—as people and businesses vote every hour with their dollar bills and checkbooks, those same checkbooks and supplies of currency being the result of previous elections by customers in the marketplace.

No one mind or Congressional committee comprehends what is going on in the market economy each day and year, or even century. Each family decides how it will divide its income between consumption and saving. Gradually horses and buggies are phased out, gradually the whole face of the countryside is changed by a network of roads and even a new style of life.

No one need know or even understand the operations of the market economy. The lilies of the field have no awareness of the intricacies of metabolism or photosynthesis. Only in recent years have people comprehended the circulation of the blood within the body and the nonlinear oscillations of the human heart. Just as life went on before it was at all understood, so carried on from time immemorial the workings of the forces of supply and demand and the price mechanisms of the marketplace.

However, just as 1976 represents the bicentennial celebration of our nation's founding, so it represents the bicentennial of the scientific study of political economy, as begun by the founding father, Adam Smith, in his pathbreaking 1776 *The Wealth of Nations.* In the same way that study of human physiology leads inevitably to intervention by physicians to improve health and longevity, knowledge of the workings of the economic system led inevitably to governmental programs to improve upon the efficiency and equity of the economic system. Whereas a fungus outbreak that blighted the potato crop in the 1840s was permitted to lead to the deaths and emigrations of literally millions of Irishmen, in the modern world of the mixed economy the federal, state, and local governments use their intrinsic powers to ensure a minimum of living standards for all.

About a quarter of all the goods and services in the total Gross National Product (GNP) are now bought by government rather than by families or businesses. At any one time, governments employ about one-fifth of the working force. More than a third of total national income passes through the hands of government, in the form of taxes collected and transfer expenditures made to the aged under social security, to the handicapped and impoverished, to the unemployed, and to students. Moreover, the long-term trend continues to be upward with respect to the role of government in economic life.

Ours is a mixed economy because it is truly a mixture of spontaneous market forces and conscious economic policies. It is a mixture of individuals and families and of corporations, large and small. Even if governments did not tax a penny, the fact that the organs of the state serve as referee and rule giver over every facet of economic activity makes ours a mixed system. How different is the modern world from that near condition to laissez faire that Thomas Carlyle, the 19th century essayist and historian, contemptuously called "anarchy and the constable."

WARTS ON THE PICTURE

Why under the sunshine of benevolent democracy have the remaining economic problems in our affluent society not withered away, initiating an eventless epoch of human bliss? In part, the answer must be found in the divine propensity of mortals to develop new discontents, new itches to replace those that have been definitively scratched.

When Professor R. A. Easterlin of the University of Pennsylvania surveys the polls on human happiness that have been taken in many places and at many dates, he finds that perfect happiness, like one's shadow when walking north at noon, is a receding vision that seems reachable. The well-off in every society, contrary to vulgar belief, do report greater contentment than those at the bottom of the real-income pole. Nations "making progress" show less discontent than those in decay. But whether General Eisenhower was a happier person than General Washington, or John F. Kennedy than Thomas Jefferson, can be given no meaningful answer.

Still there seems to be more to the mixed performance of the mixed economy than the insatiability of people's desires. The welfare state has not been able to make good on all of the goals in its glowing prospectus.

The relative distribution of income—as measured by the ratio of shares of the lowest 20 percent of the income scale to the highest 20 percent—has changed little since 1945. And this in the face of continuing redistributive tax programs based progressively on ability to pay.

Industrial concentration, as measured by the predominance in markets of a few large corporations, may be less than it was during the 1900 trust period, but it is probably more than it was at the end of World War II and may be almost as much as at the 1929 peak of plutocracy.

To be humane, the modern welfare state no longer permits children to have rickets just because their father is unlucky, or lazy, or A.W.O.L., or unskilled, or . . . But in becoming more humane, the modern system has become more rigid and inflexible. Its susceptibility toward the new disease of "stagflation"—prices creeping upward even when labor markets are slack and industrial capacity excessive—profound observers associate with the humane fact that those unemployed no longer put the downward pressure on wage rates and prices that they did in the bad old days when it was a case of working for a pittance at rotten and even degrading jobs or starving to death.

The regulatory commissions—the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Civil Aeronautics Board, and so forth—which were conceived to regulate conscienceless oligopolists, too often, economists find, end up protecting corporations they regulate from the rigors of free competition.

Economic history is a never completed scenario. There remains for this generation the reconciliation of equity and humaneness with efficiency and economic feasibility. No easy touch.

8—ADVERTISING AND THE SHAPING OF AMERICAN BELIEFS

By Paul A. Samuelson

MICHAEL DENNY/PHOTOPHILE

ADVERTISING, U.S.A. Is advertising necessary for the functioning of our economy or a waste of resources?

Advertising is as much a part of our way of life as language and friendship. As a child each of us has our first exposure to music, as likely as not, in the form of tuneful TV jingles: along with Little Bo Peep and The Seven Dwarfs, we learn that Coca-Cola is the "real thing" and that Campbell's soup is "mm-mm good"—and good for you.

DEFENSE AND ATTACK

Money, it is said, is what makes the wheels of commerce and industry go around. And what is it that makes money go around? If you ask this question on Madison Avenue, the industry that is not averse to a little self-advertising will reply: "Advertising is a necessary ingredient in the modern system of mass production and mass consumption."

Advertising is also an activity that has come under attack. Many critics call it a waste to devote expensive and talented economic resources merely for the purpose of persuading people to smoke one brand of cigarettes that will be injurious to their health rather than another brand equally injurious. *Advertising,* critics say, *builds up monopoly power of corporations already too large:* It is a form of brainwashing, but with the victim ultimately paying for his own seduction.

The issue goes deeper than the mere selling of gadgets and services. Advertising is a form of communication aimed at persuasion. But that could also serve as a rough and ready definition of the process of politics itself.

Adolph Goebbels, the machiavellian master of propaganda for Adolph Hitler's dictatorship of the Third Reich, from this point of view wins hands down all the Oscar, Emmie, and Tony awards that the advertising guild has to offer. His skill in the use of repetition could command the admiration of George Washington Hill, the onetime president of the Lucky Strike cigarette company, whose ingenuity and cynicism in devising advertising campaigns was a byword in the industry.

The analogy between advertising communication to garner the consumers' dollar votes in the market place and the citizenry's political votes can be pressed even closer. At each election there are advertising agencies that volunteer substantial parts of their staffs to help promote some favorite candidate. Indeed, those who as

amateurs turn out to be good at this sort of thing, often find it profitable to become professionals and form organizations whose main business is to sell their services to political candidates. The function of the advertising industry in the business of affecting election outcomes has become so important that legislation has been passed to limit the campaign funds that can be spent in favor of any candidate or set of candidates—lest the wealthiest persons and lobbying interests be able to buy their way into office and control of government.

A CONTROVERSIAL AND COMPLEX ISSUE

There are few controversies in the field of economic policy that arouse such conflicting and emotional opinions as does advertising. Even to criticize and judge advertising is in some quarters like attacking the flag and the family.

Any reader must be warned in the beginning that the topic is a complicated one. Juries of experts and men of good will and common sense can often agree on disputed issues in economics: tariffs do raise the price of imports, and the burden of proof has to be on any industry that asks for such an outright subsidy. Or the practice of buying up rivals and intimidating competitors is one that, if factually identified, poses few problems to legislators, judges, and leaders of public opinion.

Advertising is not one such issue that can be disposed of by making a short list of credits and debits, enumerating on the one hand its advantages, on the other its disadvantages, and then summing up with an impartial trial balance. Instead, all that one can usefully do in a brief analysis is to survey the salient features that must go into any final policy diagnosis. Only from such an informed audit of the evidence can one begin to formulate a definitive opinion on optimal public policy toward advertising.

WITNESS FOR THE DEFENSE

"If a man can make a better mousetrap than his neighbor, though he build his house in the woods the world will make a beaten path to his door." This dictum, attributed to Ralph Waldo Emerson, is remembered because it does have a grain of truth to it. But it is an overstatement in its implied ultimate omniscience of the consumer in learning correct information about products to fill his needs. Many a useful invention has died stillborn: not enough people found it in the woods for it to be producible at a price that would attract others.

Businessmen know this. They are not fools who like to pay out money to advertising specialists. They do so again and again because often they have found that *an excellent new product that finds only a small market can, with massive and optimal promotion, generate a much larger market. If the product is indeed an improvement, a large number of consumers find themselves well served. The cost of the advertising can be spread over a great number of units and involves a necessary expenditure rather than a deadweight loss.*

The above defense made for advertising might be regarded as suspect when it comes from the advertising profession itself or from the large soap and appliance companies whose profits depend upon the skill with which they advertise and market their merchandise. But this same defense is also often made by disinterested economists who would as soon criticize an industry or a trade union as give it a clear bill of health. After detailed statistical and analytical surveys of the advertising industry and function, *these economists claim that advertising on the whole promotes competition among firms rather than promoting autonomous monopoly.*

What about the case of cosmetics, which from a cost point of view is little more than the advertising that is in it. Here, the critics say, the tail of advertising wags the dog of the product: lipstick ingredients that cost pennies are transmuted by the alchemy of Madison Avenue into expensive cosmetics that essentially represent packaged *hope.*

Defenders of advertising do not disagree. What is the matter with hope? they ask. A person does not live by bread alone; fashion is arbitrary and capricious, but how many Americans and Western Europeans would voluntarily embrace the dullness of the functional and shapeless garments of mainland Chinese society?

THE PROSECUTION SPEAKS AND ACTS

At any symposium on advertising and the public interest, there are plenty of economists who violently disagree that advertising promotes competition and free entry. They regard much, but not all, of advertising as waste. The consumer is never given the effective choice to repudiate the resources ostensibly devoted by self-interested advertisers to providing him with information.

Often the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) and other regulatory agencies agree with the critics of advertising. Thus, cigarette advertising has been banned completely from TV on the grounds that permitting it would be injurious to the health of the citizenry. In some countries all cigarette advertising is forbidden. Everywhere restrictions are placed upon the warnings and the health claims that are made.

The FTC has even invoked for advertisers the same "equal-time-for-reply" doctrine that the TV industry is held to. Thus, if ABC, Inc., advertises its mousetrap as curing Vitamin E deficiency, and it turns out that it does not, ABC, Inc., may be required to advertise with equal prominence the failure of its claims.

BEYOND ECONOMICS

Our whole system of free press and open radio and television has been conditioned upon the historical existence of the advertising industry. The newspaper you now read could not pay its way from newsstand and subscription receipts alone. If some newspapers are to be Republican and some Democratic, and if the parties are not themselves to subsidize newspapers and magazines, then complete prohibition of advertising would hardly be feasible.

Sweden has for some time taxed advertising, in much the same way that it taxes the evil and waste of alcohol or tobacco. To keep small newspapers from folding up in consequence, the tax receipts levied against advertising are used for outright news media subsidies.

This curb on free advertising is beyond that agreed to by the American electorate. But the handwriting is clear to read on the wall, that the American people do regard the advertising industry as a utility vested with public interest and to be carefully scrutinized by an alert government.

9—LIMITS TO GROWTH: WHAT LIES AHEAD?

Paul A. Samuelson

BOB GLASHEEN PHOTOPHILE

LIMITS TO GROWTH? Will large families—with consequent overpopulation—and pollution limit our economic growth in the future?

In 1876 when we in America celebrated our Centennial, orators looked backward with satisfaction on a hundred years of material progress. And they looked forward to 1976 with the unquiet confidence that it would find the United States the number one country in the world.

PAST AS PROLOGUE

Sometimes even Fourth of July speeches turn out to be prophetic. As the Bicentennial now dawns, the United States does still lead the world in per capita real incomes. We average more calories per day than anyone else, command more horsepower, and enjoy living space more ample.

But what of the year 2076 ahead? Can learned panelists now look to the future with the artless optimism of the 1876 orators? Hardly.

FAILURE OF NERVE

The Malthusian spectre of overpopulation haunts our visions. The computer of the Club of Rome—an international consortium concerned with world problems—looks into the future darkly, through the mist of man-made smog. The voice of the turtle is not heard in our land over the traffic roar and the amplification of hard rock. Our cups overfloweth with chlorine and our still waters with phosphates. At the ukase of the OPEC oil cartel, the lights go out all over Europe, and God's country too.

"Limits To Growth" has replaced "The Affluent Society" on the best-sellers shelf. Zero Population Growth (ZPG) and Zero Economic Growth (ZEG) are creeds emblazoned on bosoms of the concerned.

Some prophets say the world will end in fire—as factory carbon dioxide fills the atmosphere, swathing the globe in a greenhouse mantle. Some say it is ice that will suffice—as coal particles in the air reflect back the sun's warmth and initiate a new ice age. Not even the blue sky's ozone is sacred if our public places are to stay cool and our private parts fragrant.

Is it any wonder that the *identity crisis* all flesh is heir to

should also affect the body politic itself?

SOUL SEARCHINGS

Can America continue to grow in the future as in the past?

Would we want it to, even if it could?

These are not frivolous questions fit only to occupy the time of useless academic philosophers.

The rich seams of Minnesota copper are long since gone. Oil is only where you find it, and the easy pickings were picked up long ago. Mothers' sons will no longer go down into the mines where coal and poison gases hide. The price of a cozy hearth is the topsoil scar of the stripminer's bulldozer. The atomic plant that can heat a state may occasionally radioactivate a county.

CONSCIENCE AND CHALLENGE

Even if doomsday is long put off, as the cornucopia of Texas is replenished by that of Kuwait or the Alaskan slope, there remains a problem of conscience.

Americans, so to speak, were by chance accorded first-class tickets on space ship Earth. Do we have the right to enjoy gourmet repasts in first class, at the expense of the ship's limited stores that must also feed for eons to come the teeming masses put into steerage by the fall of fate's blind dice?

No matter how we resolve this ethical disquiet in our own minds, every meeting of the United Nations Assembly reminds us that Americans are but 6 per cent of the world population, surrounded by 94 per cent with eyes to see, voices to be heard, and per chance even arms to be flexed.

Even in the absence of world government or binding constitutions, *de facto* the wealthier economies of North America and Europe have had to undertake the burden of aid to the less developed countries (the LDCs). One-sixth of the gold in the International Monetary Fund is to be sold on behalf of the LDCs. A new kind of "tithing" has been proposed as a common goal, in which 1 per cent of leading countries' Gross National Product is to be given in foreign aid. Still to be resolved is the question of whether there should be a guarantee of prices to the LDCs for the exports of their food, fiber, and raw materials, and for the imports of the manufactured necessities that they must buy.

BALANCE SHEET OF WHERE WE STAND

An Age of Innocence has been replaced by an Age of Anxiety. A concern for the real problems that face us is healthy. A morbid conjuring up of dreaded evils is paranoid. How to draw the line between paranoia and complacency? That must be the task for scholars informed in the discipline of political economy.

As I review the evidence bearing on the outlook for our third century, I have to confess that cheerfulness keeps breaking in. Let me therefore try to give a low-keyed summing up of the salient features of the problem. To be brief runs the risk of seeming dogmatic. Therefore, I must at the very beginning stress the inexact nature of the science of economics, and the tentative credence that any of its findings must be accorded.

1. *World economic output is in fact growing in the 1970s at a rate that surpasses world growth a century ago* when Victoria was on her throne and General Ulysses S. Grant napped in the White House. Capitalism in its heyday never matched the accomplishments of the modern mixed economy in the third quarter of the twentieth century. Exhaustion of natural resources and decay of economic productivity is still a gleam in the eye of the neo-Malthusian computer, not a present or impending fact.

2. *The outlook is for continued growth in U.S. per capita real income over the rest of the twentieth century.* After correcting for price inflation, experts project long-term U.S. output growth at about 3½ per cent per year as a result of the continuing growth in our labor force, both female and male, and continuing growth of industrial knowhow and labor force skills.

3. *The rate of population growth is indeed tapering off.* Average family size has shrunk to even below the replacement rate needed in the long run to hold the population steady. But even if this trend should continue—and many experts in demography are uncertain whether it will—there still must be 75 years of continued population growth in consequence of past baby booms. A decline in population growth that is the result of voluntary desire rather than being imposed can, in the present state of economic knowledge, be a blessing rather than a curse. Resources can be transferred from the baby-food industry to the vacation-trip industry. When both husband and wife are working, they can better afford to educate their two children and to be taxed to support a day-care center and their own old-age social security.

4. *It could be the case that some other nations will equal and even exceed the American level of affluence.* Scandinavia, Switzerland, and Western Germany are hot on our heels in the growth numbers game. If Japan could prolong for another decade or two her miraculous sprint toward affluence, she could pass us before the century's end as she has already surpassed Britain. But her gain would not be our loss.

At mid-century the U.S., with only 6 per cent of world population, enjoyed almost half of world Gross National Product. Then, as Western Europe and Japan prospered in the 1950s and 1960s, gradually the U.S. share dropped to 40 per cent, to 30 per cent, and now in the mid-seventies to about 26 per cent. If the world is run right, by the end of the century our share may be below 20 percent. This will not be because we have gone down, but rather because others—in Singapore and Brazil, in Spain and Austria, in Norway and Mexico—have come up. As a citizen of the United States and a private in the army of humanity, I can only approve of this—at the same time that, as a voter, I must remind my Secretary of State that our powers to police the world are not in 1975 what they were in 1945.

THE UNDISMAL SCIENCE

Thomas Carlyle coined for economics the appelation of the "dismal science." His dour Scottish pessimism resonated to the dire predictions of T. R. Malthus—and this in the middle of the nineteenth century when the industrial revolution was poised for a century of economic advance.

The antidote for uninformed economics is not wishful thinking or science fiction. Rather it is analysis that unflinchingly surveys the evidence of the past and the changing present. There are problems aplenty already visible for the years ahead. But there is no need, in a momentary loss of nerve, to fabricate fears out of the thin air.

UNIT III

AMERICA IN THE WORLD

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

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10 — "WE SHALL RUN THE WORLD'S BUSINESS": AMERICANS AS ISOLATIONISTS

By Walter LaFeber

CHARLES LINDBERGH ADDRESSES "AMERICA FIRST" RALLY, 1941. The America First Committee, citing traditional isolationist arguments, opposed U.S. entry into World War II.

In 1945 much of the world lay devastated by war, but the United States emerged as a superpower. It monopolized the atomic bomb and operated the greatest industrial complex in history. *Life* magazine bragged of the coming "American Century" in which Americans would dominate international affairs as had the Romans and British in the past.

With this awesome power, however, came awesome responsibilities. Americans suddenly had to deal with such problems as controlling nuclear energy and rebuilding Europe and Japan. Many of these military and economic dilemmas still haunt us, threatening us with instant annihilation or—as in the case of the energy crisis—slow economic strangulation.

But it would be wrong to conclude that the post-1945 era marks the first time Americans have confronted such foreign policy problems. The Founding Fathers had to cope with diplomatic decisions no less perplexing. They, like us, had to answer tough, fundamental questions: How isolationist can this country afford to be? How much security must we have? Can we get along with the growing number of revolutionary nations? Should the President be given free rein as he tries to maintain the American Century? In this article and the three to follow, we shall take up these age-old problems of America's world role.

ONLY COMMERCIAL CONNECTIONS

Whether to be "isolationist" or "internationalist" troubled the Continental Congress only hours after it declared American independence. The members engaged in a prolonged argument over how to protect the new nation, and, of course, their own necks. They quickly agreed that survival required good relations with France, the great enemy of England. But the members bitterly divided on how close the young nation could move towards alliance with the French without losing control of its own destiny.

"What connection may we safely form with France?" John Adams asked. He ruled out political or military links for these might allow the stronger French to dictate policy. "Only a commercial connection" could be acceptable, Adams concluded, since France would then provide only needed supplies but not political advice.

Paris officials soon destroyed Adams' hope that foreign policy consisted solely of profitable economic exchanges. France offered to help only if the United States formed a political and military alliance. Facing imminent bankruptcy, the Americans reluctantly signed such a pact in 1778.

By 1780 Adams' worst fears had been realized. The French Minister to the United States became a powerful influence in the American government. He worked to defeat the British army, but he also connived to further

French territorial ambitions in North America by undercutting American claims to land beyond the Allegheny Mountains. Only the brilliant diplomacy of Benjamin Franklin and John Jay during peace negotiations in Europe stopped France's attempt to coop up the young nation along the Atlantic coast.

It had been a near disaster. The wounds were so deep that in his Farewell Address of 1796 President George Washington warned Americans: "The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is in extending our commercial relations to have with them as little *political* connection as possible." By following this rule, he hinted, Americans could eventually acquire sufficient power to dictate terms to the Europeans. His advice was followed. The United States did not sign another alliance for 150 years.

DEVELOPING OUR CONTINENT

Not that Americans were isolated during those years. We fought five foreign wars, sent troops into Latin American nations more than a dozen times, and even dispatched forces to such exotic places as the Barbary Coast and Peking. But we devoted ourselves primarily to developing our own continent. Avoiding the quarrels of Europe while feeding its warring armies, we were, in Jefferson's words, "fattening upon the follies" of the Old World.

During the century after 1815 this strategy worked so well that as the Europeans prepared to slaughter each other in 1914, the United States was the world's most rapidly growing industrial power. It ranked second only to England in world trade. American missionaries and intellectuals spun a global web of religious and cultural influence. These triumphs resulted not from isolationism. Americans had simply followed Washington's advice to keep affairs wholly in their own hands so maximum profit could be extracted.

Europeans understood what was happening. In *Nostromo* (1904), British novelist Joseph Conrad had an American financier proclaim, "Of course, some day we shall step in. We are bound to. But there's no hurry. Time itself has got to wait on the greatest country in the whole of God's Universe. . . . We shall run the world's business whether the world likes it or not. The world can't help it—and neither can we, I guess."

INTERNATIONALISM REJECTED

President Woodrow Wilson willingly assumed that burden as he led the nation into World War I. He tried to create a world in which Americans could prosper, or, as he phrased it, "a world made safe for democracy." But at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919, Wilson faced the same problem that had plagued the Founding Fathers. His British and French allies offered to accept his proposals for world peace only if he promised to defend their interests in Europe and such colonial areas as Africa. Many Congressmen, however, were in no mood to shed American blood in post-war European quarrels, so the Senate refused to sign the Versailles peace treaty and the League of Nations Covenant.

The United States did not have to submit to European demands in 1919 as the new nation had to do in 1778. Having sold billions of dollars of goods to Europe during the war, we were the world's richest people. Throughout the 1920s we entered no political alliance but maintained complete freedom of action to use this economic leverage as we wished. Led by Herbert Hoover, the nation again followed Adams' and Washington's advice to form only profitable commercial links with Europe and Asia.

AN AMERICAN CENTURY

That policy ended disastrously in the economic crash of 1929 and the diplomatic chaos of the 1930s. Hoover's methods had failed. Attempting to defend our global interests with economic power alone nearly destroyed those interests. As the Nazis overran Europe in 1939-41, Americans found they could not safely withdraw from the world. Columnist Dorothy Thompson stated the problem in 1941: either there would be "an American Century" after the war "or it will be the beginning of the decline and fall of the American people." No democratic nation save ourselves might have remained had we not fought the second world war.

Clearly an "American Century," like the empires of Rome and Great Britain, required the use of political and military muscle. When the Axis surrendered in 1945, Americans possessed that muscle. As Washington had prophesied, we could now virtually dictate our own terms in world politics.

Hence our entering into the United Nations and the joining of military alliances did not seem like radical acts to most Americans. We willingly belonged to such organizations because we dominated them. But we could not control the Soviet Union and Communist China. When these two nations condemned our policies, the result was cold war and even, in Korea, a shooting war.

In Secretary of State Dean Acheson's words, the United States tried to create "positions of strength" in the late 1940s to break down Russian and Chinese opposition. The policy did not always work. By the late 1960s we had spent over a trillion dollars on defense, stationed more than a million men in thirty countries, and signed mutual defense treaties with more than forty nations, but we could not end the cold war on our own terms.

Instead our influence began to dwindle in Southeast Asia, Latin America and Western Europe. Not even the awesome American economy escaped. Foreign oil producers drained $24 billion out of it in 1974, and it sunk into the worst slump since the 1930s.

Now after two centuries Adams' and Washington's advice is no longer useful. As the world's greatest power, the United States cannot abstain politically from world affairs or protect its interest through only "commercial connections." But neither can it any longer demand a perfect world environment or threaten to quit its global responsibilities. It can no longer manage the world by military force alone.

For the first time in our history we are compelled to cooperate and compromise and become true internationalists. But 200-year-old habits are not easily broken, and the challenge we face will make us feel less secure. As we shall see, however, insecurity is hardly new in the American experience.

11—"INSECURITY": AN AMERICAN TRADITION

By Walter LaFeber

LOOMIS DEAN/TIME-LIFE PICTURE AGENCY, ©TIME, INC.

BACKYARD BOMB SHELTER, EARLY 1960s. The fear of nuclear war swept the country in the 1960s.

President Ford's First Annual Message, one newspaper reported in January 1975, "was the gloomiest delivered by a President since the depression of the nineteen-thirties." Unemployment, inflation, and threats of war in the Middle East overshadowed the few bright spots in the President's survey.

It seemed quite unlike Dwight Eisenhower's soothing messages of the 1950s or John Kennedy's call-to-the-ramparts appeals of the early 1960s. Memories of those supposedly happier times made Americans nostalgic for the good old days of charismatic leadership in the White House, record car sales, and stable prices.

Americans with those memories should treasure them, for such times are rare in our history. The 1780s was more typical, and the mood of crisis pervading those years more prophetic of decades to come. That mood was caught in James Madison's letter of late 1787 to Thomas Jefferson, describing the work of the Constitutional Convention: "We are in a wilderness, without a single footstep to guide us."

If the "Father of the Constitution" harbored such doubts, one can only imagine the fears of such opponents of the new Constitution as Patrick Henry. He was convinced the new nation would soon become enslaved to an all-powerful central government. "The tyranny of Philadelphia," roared Henry, "may be like the tyranny of George III," for "it squints toward monarchy."

Henry, as usual, over-dramatized, yet his pessimism and Madison's worry reflected a deep national insecurity. The rivers might teem with fish, the land abound with crops, the churches burst with church-goers. All the same, Americans nervously watched for signs of God's disfavor. After all, as the Puritan ministers emphasized, God often put the most faithful and successful to the greatest test.

BURDEN OF RIGHTEOUSNESS

As early as 1629 John Winthrop had warned the settlers of Massachusetts Bay, recently escaped from the problems of the Old World, that fresh dangers awaited them in the New. In one of the most famous American speeches, he reminded them that the whole world was waiting for the great Christian experiment to fail: "We shall be as a City upon a Hill," Winthrop announced, "the eyes of all people are upon us; so that if we shall deal falsely with our God in this work and so cause him to withdraw his present help from us, we shall be made a story and by-word through the world."

This long-held idea of America as the "Chosen Nation" helps account for our national habit of equating success with divine favor. It also may provide a hint why the Watergate break-in, which, as Professor John Higham pointed out in an earlier article, aroused only a cynical response in Europe, caused such soul-searching in the United States.

This burden of righteousness has caused us to feel insecure since the time when Puritan magistrates called for days of public humiliation to appease God's anger. The signers of the Declaration of Independence determined to separate themselves from a British society so corrupt that it shocked even the worldly Benjamin Franklin. They escaped the contagion, however, only to enter into a decade of revolution and economic panic.

THE REPUBLIC IN DANGER

The new form of government created in 1789 by the Constitutional Convention did not quiet earlier anxieties. Madison and Henry were not alone in questioning whether the experiment would work. Crusty old Federalist, Fisher Ames, offered only slight hope when he noted: "A monarchy is a merchantman which sails well, but will sometimes strike on a rock and go to the bottom; a republic is a raft which will never sink, but then your feet are always in the water."

But the raft nearly sank during the Constitution's first ten years—a period when the nation feared for the survival of its political institutions. The 1790s were torn by political party divisions, rebellion in Pennsylvania, and near-war with France. Panicked Federalists tried to restore domestic peace by destroying their opponents' right of free speech. When a peaceful transition of government occurred with the Republican-Democratic Jefferson's presidential triumph, the nation was so relieved that the event has been tagged "the revolution of 1800."

Hardly had Jefferson moved into the new capital of Washington City when the country faced a new threat: Napoleon moved to occupy the Mississippi Valley. Hurried maneuvers resulted in the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, and the French danger subsided. Immediately thereafter, the British, fighting for survival in the Napoleonic wars, posed another challenge. Determined to stop American trade with France, the British preyed on United States ships and encouraged Indian attacks on American settlements along the Great Lakes. The two nations finally fought to a draw in the war of 1812, but the British scored a moral victory by burning Washington City.

In 1815 the wars ended and Americans turned inward to develop their immense continent. They would not fight Europeans during the next eighty years. That fact, however, did not mean they would enjoy an era of security. Americans made the 19th century into the most dynamic and expansive in their 300-year history. In doing so they killed and were killed by Indians, Mexicans, and—in 1898—Spaniards and Filipinos. During four years of civil war they slaughtered each other. In all they fought three wars and went to the brink of conflict with England, Canada, Russia, and even China.

CRISIS OVER SLAVERY

Black slavery, of course, constituted the greatest threat to national security. Northerners feared the loss of western lands to free labor unless the slave-holding expansionists were checked. Southerners predicted the stagnation of their economy if slavery were banned in the territories. Slave revolts in 1822 and 1831, along with rumors of many others, obsessed southern society and intensified the sense of crisis.

The Civil War ended slavery, but the nation was then torn by a quarter-century economic depression that worsened until by the 1890s Secretary of State Walter Q. Gresham could detect "symptoms of revolution." Masses of unemployed marched on Washington during that depression decade, and the U.S. Army was called out to break paralyzing strikes. A young political science professor, Woodrow Wilson, was one of many—Theodore Roosevelt was another—who warned that the United States stood on the brink of violent class warfare.

As a President, Wilson would later help avert that warfare by championing social and economic reform programs. But he also led us into World War I, where we watched civilization (as F. Scott Fitzgerald wrote), "walking very slowly backward a few inches a day, leaving the dead like a million bloody rugs." The glow of the 1920s was dimmed by the memory of this horror, then finally snuffed out by depression and another world war. In its wake came cold war, McCarthyism, and Vietnam.

Even during the complacent Eisenhower years the President gravely warned that a sudden worldwide rebellion against injustice and poverty was testing "the fitness of political systems and the validity of political philosophies." Few paid sufficient attention, but the man with the infectious grin was reminding Americans that they could not take the security of their institutions for granted. It was a fitting introduction to the 1960s and 1970s when, as we shall see in the next article, the American people searched vainly for stability and security in a world of revolution.

Such insecurity, therefore, is hardly a new fact of life for this country. It is as American as James Madison, Abraham Lincoln, Woodrow Wilson—and Gerald Ford.

12—AMERICANS AS ANTI-REVOLUTIONARIES

Walter LaFeber

AMERICAN HOSTILITY TO REVOLUTION. The United States frequently interfered in the affairs of Latin America. In this 1913 cartoon, Wilson is shown wagging his finger at Mexico in disapproval of the course of Mexican Revolution.

Since the first settlements, Americans have lived with global insecurity, heightened during our own century by massive revolutionary movements in China, Russia and Latin America. We have usually opposed these revolutions and have sometimes even dispatched military forces to control them.

It is odd, therefore, that in 1959 the distinguished historian Arthur Schlesinger, Sr., ranked "the right of revolution" first among "America's ten gifts to civilization," listing it ahead of "federalism," "consent of the governed" and "rights of women."

In that same year Fidel Castro took power in Cuba, but Americans did not show much tolerance for Cuba's "right of revolution." Five years earlier the United States had helped overthrow a revolutionary movement in Guatemala. In 1965 we landed 22,000 troops in Santo Domingo to prevent a rebel group from overthrowing the conservative regime. The most revolutionary of peoples in 1776 had become, to quote Senator William Fulbright, "the most unrevolutionary nation on earth."

1776 NOT REAL REVOLUTION

Pondering the reasons for that change might be a most appropriate way to celebrate the Bicentennial. To begin with, we might recognize that the American War for Independence was less a complete revolution than it was an anti-colonial war. Having developed their own governments, economy and culture during the previous 150 years, Americans were prepared to destroy the remnants of British colonialism in order to assume complete control.

The new regime did make some changes. It abolished state sponsorship of churches in some states and, most radical of all, announced that since "all men were created equal" the new nation would be ruled by consent of the governed. Such actions, however, only ratified a process of change that had been occurring in America for decades. The war itself did not create many new forces. Primarily, it assured the continuance of wide property distribution, religious toleration and self-government, all facts of life in the English colonies prior to the "revolution."

In Gore Vidal's novel *Burr*, one of Aaron Burr's many woman friends fears that the Declaration of Independence recently written by that "Virginia dolt," Thomas Jefferson, will unloose radicalism and threaten her property. Burr gently assures her that everything will be the same after the supposed Revolution, "but without the inconvenience of paying taxes to England."

The point made in the novel was right; but Americans made the mistake in Burr's time and later of seeing their revolution as a model for all mankind, even for nations whose property distribution, political rights and religious toleration more closely resembled the Middle Ages than the new America. When the French began their national upheaval in 1789, many of their revolutionary leaders looked to 1776 as a model. Their struggle, however, would be fought not against colonial rulers but fellow Frenchmen. They were not completing a century or more of rapid democratic development, but breaking violently with the past to start anew. By 1793 the need for killing anti-revolutionaries became so widespread that the French turned to public exhibitions of Dr. J. I. Guillotin's new, highly efficient device for lopping off heads.

Nothing resembling the guillotine had emerged from the American Revolution. By 1794 Americans were sickened by the bloodshed and radicalization in France. President George Washington condemned his one-time ally-in-battle, and when France went to war with England he issued a neutrality proclamation that indicated not the slightest sympathy for his old ally.

REVOLUTION ON OUR DOORSTEP

A decade later Americans had to deal with another revolution occurring almost at their doorstep. The Latin American colonies rebelled against Spanish and Portuguese rule and looked to the United States for help. The Americans did not respond officially for years, refusing to

recognize the existence of the new Latin American governments until 1822. Thomas Jefferson did not believe that Roman Catholic countries could copy the model of 1776: "History . . . furnishes no example of a priest-ridden people maintaining a free civil government." Moreover, the Latin American uprisings, like the French, were not neat. "How can our mild and merciful peoples," asked a leading United States magazine in 1821, "who went through their revolution without shedding a drop of civil blood, sympathize with a people that are hanging and shooting each other in their streets?"

Americans did find some revolutions acceptable, particularly if the revolutionaries rebelled against foreign rule in Texas, Florida and California and then asked to be annexed to the United States. The Texas revolution against Mexico, a New York paper proclaimed in 1844, had resulted in a "sublime spectacle" because Texas's "government is based upon our model," and "its liberties wrought out by a bravery and virtue that emulate the glory of our own Revolution." Annexation of Texas to the United States would gloriously enlarge the "boundaries of rational freedom." By the 1850s, however, Americans had shaped their continental empire and their taste for revolution—temporarily acquired—once again virtually disappeared.

A sharp-eyed French visitor had noted earlier this basic antipathy to revolution during his travels. Americans "love change," observed Alexis de Tocqueville, "but they dread revolutions." He believed that since Americans already enjoyed social equality and opportunity, they did not need to make fundamental changes. They were, moreover, businessmen, and "nothing is more opposite to revolutionary attitudes than commercial ones. Commerce is naturally adverse to all the violent passions."

The American Civil War of 1861-1865 confirmed Tocqueville's observation. The North refused to admit the South's right of secession or revolution although, significantly, the Southerners never claimed to be revolutionary. They wrote provisions into the Confederate Constitution, in fact, which denied to Southern states any right to revolution. In both sections of the country, "Revolution" had become a dirty word.

THE WATERS MUST BE CALM

Given this background, it was not to be expected that we would welcome the great upheavals of the twentieth century. And what enthusiasm for foreign revolution that remained faded as American entrepreneurs circled the globe to profit in overseas markets. Steel magnate Andrew Carnegie exemplified Tocqueville's earlier remark about businessmen's distaste for violent change. "Foreign trade rests upon peace and security," Carnegie declared in 1898. "The waters must be calm, disturbing influences absent."

No one better captured the American attitude toward foreign revolution than Woodrow Wilson. The future President wrote in 1889, "For us this is the centennial year of Washington's inauguration, but for Europe it is the centennial year of the French Revolution. One hundred years ago we gained, and Europe lost, self-command, self-possession."

As President, Wilson was called upon to respond to the first major twentieth-century revolutions. The outbreak in Mexico during 1911 had nothing to do with communism. The upheaval in Russia six years later was guided by communists. Yet Wilson treated both revolutions with equal hostility. He refused to recognize the new regimes, attempted to manipulate their internal politics, and finally ordered troops into both countries in unsuccessful attempts to undermine the revolutionaries.

WE FAVOR STABILITY

The days when the American upstart nation was despised and feared, when its "mandate made tyranny tremble," have long passed. As a rich and powerful people, we have not looked kindly on the Mexican and Russian revolutions nor on those in China, Guatemala and Cuba. We favor stability and are suspicious of radical change.

Yet Americans cannot escape the burden of their own history. The recent rebellions taking place in Africa, Asia and Latin America, as President Eisenhower warned in 1957, test "the fitness" of our own political system. And referring to those same upheavals, President Truman (who did study history) noted that "the repercussions of the American and French revolutions are just being felt all around the world."

Because we did not have to be very revolutionary ourselves in 1776, we have found it difficult to come to terms with the global repercussions of our own revolution. American presidents have instead used diplomatic, economic and military means to restrain such revolutions elsewhere. In the process, we have allowed the presidency to become a powerful and, to some, even dangerous institution. How our foreign policy helped shape this "imperial presidency" will be the subject of the next article.

13—PRESIDENTS, FOREIGN POLICY AND THE ONLY LAW OF HISTORY

By Walter LaFeber

FDR WITH CHURCHILL AND STALIN AT YALTA, 1945. In carrying out his foreign policy, Roosevelt twisted presidential power into new forms.

In foreign affairs we expect our President to be strong, courageous and decisive. As the previous article indicated, the American people approved his attempts to control revolutionary outbreaks abroad, even if he despatches military force.

On the other hand, Presidents have discovered that trying to be god-like in exercising domestic power can create a wave of political atheism. A President who does not possess the power to raise the price of postage stamps, one journalist has noted, still clings to the illusion he can manage the world. And we encourage him to fool himself.

In the 1960s and 1970s we nearly became the victims. We believed that Presidents such as Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon could dominate the nation's foreign policies while we continued debating domestic issues as usual. Instead, they tried, and nearly succeeded, in using the immense powers of their office to silence political opposition at home. For too long the break-in at the Democratic Party headquarters in the Watergate Apartments was covered up for reasons of supposed "national security." The Central Intelligence Agency, required by law to stay out of domestic affairs, was used by Nixon against his opponents within the United States.

Both Johnson and Nixon followed the earlier examples of Presidents Roosevelt and Kennedy in attempting to use the FBI for similar domestic political intelligence work. Nor did Johnson and Nixon shy away from well-publicized "conspiracy" trials as a vehicle for quashing domestic dissent against their foreign policy.

CONTAINING POWER

Throughout the post-World War II years we have tried to separate the use of presidential power abroad from the constraints on that power at home. We thus neglected a lesson that the Founding Fathers considered most important, namely that power must be checked wherever it is located. For power, like gangrene, does not contain itself. It must be contained. The Founders understood that foreign and domestic realms could not be separated; power acquired in one realm could quickly spread to the other.

In drafting the Declaration of Independence, Jefferson first stated general principles ("All men . . . are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights"), then devoted two-thirds of the document to a blistering indictment of King George III for trying to establish "an absolute tyranny over these States." Unchecked executive power, Jefferson alleged, caused the revolution.

His argument was overly simple, but useful. Not all the abuses of the British Empire could be blamed on its often befuddled King. But the Founders had learned a lesson, and when they created an Executive branch of government at the Constitutional Convention, they carefully divided powers—as Professor Doris Kearns noted in an earlier article—among co-equal executive, legislative, and judicial branches.

The Convention took special care in defining powers in foreign affairs. As James Madison warned the delegates, "The management of foreign relations appears to be the most susceptible of abuse of all the trusts committed to

government." They carefully assigned to Congress the power to declare war. The Executive, declared George Mason of Virginia, "was not to be trusted with it." The President was named "Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy," but the Convention believed Congress could check this power through its control of the purse.

PROVOKING WAR

Except for the Civil War years, most Presidents were held within these limits during the next century. A notable exception was James K. Polk in 1846. Polk's treatment of Mexico strikingly anticipated Lyndon Johnson's maneuvering in Vietnam more than a century later. Both were Democrats who believed that Congress was unfit to shape foreign policy. Both manufactured an incident. Polk provoked a Mexican attack in disputed territory and then claimed that, without provocation, Mexican troops had "shed American blood upon American soil." Johnson sent American ships into the Gulf of Tonkin in 1964 to accompany South Vietnamese commando raids against North Vietnam. When the ships were attacked, Johnson insisted that the attack was unprovoked.

Polk used the border skirmish to manipulate Congress into declaring war against Mexico. Similarly, Johnson exploited the Tonkin Gulf incident to obtain a resolution from Congress that gave him a virtual blank check to wage war against North Vietnam. Each President led the nation into the most unpopular war of the century. There the analogy stops. Polk won his war and annexed the present American Southwest. Johnson lost his and the Vietnamese War left in its wake a country wracked by social turmoil and economic distress.

Polk, unlike Johnson, was followed by a weak President who was forced to deal with internal problems. With the exception of the Civil War, Congress and the courts again moved to the forefront of national decision-making in the half-century after Polk left office. The eclipse of the presidency was due in part to the absence of any major foreign war. Without the opportunity to exercise their powers as Commander-in-Chief, many Presidents exercised little power at all.

THE MODERN PRESIDENCY

The modern presidency began in 1898. During that year an easy victory over Spain made the Caribbean an American lake, led to the annexation of the Philippines, and transformed the United States into a great world power. Given these global interests, with distances contracted first by the telephone and later the airplane, many believed that only the President possessed the detailed information to make intelligent and instantaneous decisions on world questions.

In earlier articles we noted that Woodrow Wilson clearly understood what was happening to the United States. He analyzed our insecurity, explained why we were becoming anti-revolutionary, and in 1908 described the new presidency. "The President can never again be the mere domestic figure;" instead the office "will be as big and as influential as the man who occupies it." As "the most heavily burdened officer in the world," Wilson added, the President will have to be chosen only "from among wise and prudent athletes—a small class."

Wilson himself was one of the strongest Presidents, but in the end he was not "a prudent athlete." In all-out battle to force the Senate to accept the League of Nations Covenant in 1919-1920, Wilson unwisely refused to compromise and then suffered a physical breakdown.

After this victory, Congress regained a measure of control over foreign policy for the next two decades. But the presidency could never again return to its pre-1898 condition.

ROOSEVELT AND PRESIDENTIAL POWER

The Second World War, and Franklin D. Roosevelt's deviousness and disregard for the limits of his constitutional authority, raised presidential power to new heights. Supposedly a neutral between 1939 and 1941, Roosevelt manipulated information and kept secret his acts of war against Germany (such as tracking Nazi ships). He has been charged by some historians with provoking the Japanese to fire the shots that forced Americans to declare war. Although his actions were undeniably taken to ensure the survival of the democracies, Roosevelt had twisted presidential power into forms the Founding Fathers would not have recognized.

Appealing to FDR's precedents, and supported by a quarter-century-long American commitment against communism, Lyndon Johnson became the strongest President in the post-1945 era. His use of that power in Vietnam bitterly divided the nation by 1968.

His successor, Richard Nixon, could not obtain a peace settlement on American terms by 1970-1971, so he extended the war by invading communist bases in Cambodia and Laos. Nation-wide protests in the United States climaxed with the killing of four students at Kent State University. Determined to quiet the dissent, Nixon tried to persuade the FBI to carry out illegal political espionage against the protesters. When the FBI refused, the White House established its own "plumbers" unit to tighten security, investigate dissenters and, finally, to bug the Democratic Party's offices. Out of the misuse of presidential power in the midst of an undeclared Southeast Asian war came a threat to liberties at home and, ultimately, the historic resignation of the President himself.

CONTROLLING THE PRESIDENCY

The question remains: can Americans restore the effective balance between Congress and the President which the Founding Fathers once devised? This will be difficult, in part because we revere our presidents. (When asked in 1973 which person living or dead they would like to have visit them, Americans listed four presidents at the top of the list; Harry Truman was tenth, just ahead of Jesus.)

Controlling presidential power will also prove difficult since it must be achieved in a complex world situation marked by the impossibility of isolationism, the persistence of insecurity, and the frequent emergence of revolutions. We shall continue to look to our President to solve foreign policy problems, therefore, but we must also remember the lesson of 1776 and 1787. Power must always be checked both in foreign and domestic affairs, for the two realms cannot be separated.

UNIT IV

GROWING UP AND PURSUING HAPPINESS IN AMERICA:

THE SHAPING OF AMERICAN CHARACTER AND VALUES

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

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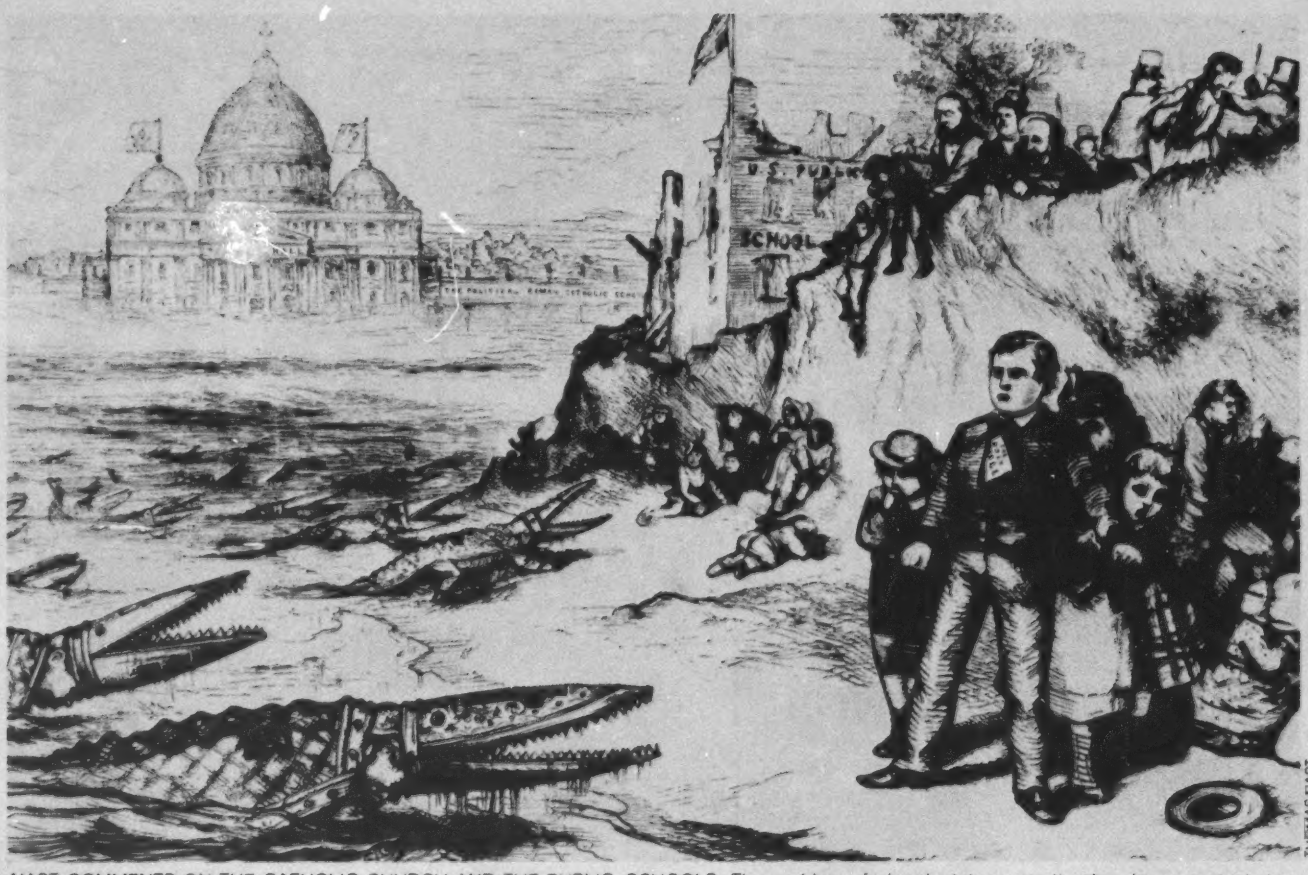
14—THE PRIVATE MATRIX: FAMILY AND CHURCH

By Neil Harris



NAST COMMENTS ON THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS. The problem of church-state separation has been particularly thorny on matters of education and has been a frequent source of controversy.

Throughout two hundred years of their nation's history, most Americans defined their place in the social order most readily as members of a family or church. In our own day, these two institutions serve as inviolable boundary lines. They fence in the broad private sector of American experience from intrusion and assault by the forces of government and society, and they act as barriers against community authority rather than an extension of it.

Such was not always the case. The boundaries between private and public sectors of American life were defined far differently during pre-Revolutionary days when the community's power of intervention (often expressed *through* both family and church) was, at least in theory, virtually limitless.

Families in the 17th century, for example, were taken as models of the larger society, little commonwealths in which the vital lessons of obedience, deference, and mutual respect would be absorbed by children along with their food, shelter, and daily care. Parents shouldered burdens that in later years would be borne by schoolmasters and politicians; stringent laws protected their authority and held them responsible for juvenile misdeeds.

Those who lived outside of normal family relations were suspect. Dependent and orphaned children were placed not in public institutions but in other families. Young bachelors were often required to receive public permission to live separately. Widows and widowers swiftly remarried after bereavement, and divorce was practically unknown.

STRAINING THE FAMILY BONDS

But the new land strained familial unity and permanence from the beginning. In a nation of immigrants, children adjusted better than adults to radical new conditions. The presence of abundant land made it more difficult for parents to enforce discipline and invited family dispersal as sons moved away to establish new homesteads.

These strains increased after the Revolution. Emphasis upon equality and optimistic visions of the future gave youth more authority than age. The hierarchy of obedience embedded in the traditional family was challenged by doctrines of individualism and personal fulfillment.

Foreign visitors detected a republican influence in the freedom granted to children and noted their wild, self-directed behavior, their precocity, bad temper, irreverence, and self-reliance. One English observer protested that he had never seen any *children* in America, "only debased imitations of men and women."

If the parent-child relationship became problematic in the 19th century, the marital relationship succeeded it as the problem of the 20th century. In 1890, 570,000 American couples married and 33,000 divorced; by 1971 marriages had quadrupled to 2,196,000, but divorces had increased more than twenty fold to 768,000. Approximately one in every four American marriages now ends in divorce.

These figures are less revealing than the shift in values they underscore. Divorce, high for many decades, did not affect the value placed on marriage itself. Most recently, however, family structure has become a subject for debate rather than an assumed good. Experiments in communal living, companionate marriage, the attempt to legitimate homosexual unions—all are the outgrowth of new attitudes toward sexual expression and individual fulfillment which are no longer defined exclusively within the traditional family setting.

THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH

The traditional role of the church in American life, like that of the family, has also changed from one which once stressed communal responsibility to one that now emphasizes personal development. In the process, the church's previously central role in American life continues to become more and more marginal.

To a greater or lesser degree, the first settlements were created to support collective missionary dreams. Although by 1800 Americans had formed the modern world's first totally secular state, early 17th century legislation compelled church attendance, tax support for religion, and church membership for office-holding. While none of the colonies was ruled by ministers, all assumed that communities were built around common values and experiences. Besides, religious homogeneity was a hedge against civil disorder.

The church was more than either an instrument for salvation or a prop of social peace. It was the best-tested instrument for reminding men of larger duties and obligations, the establisher of moral codes, the voice of conscience (if at times the mother of persecution). For a people highly conscious of its mission to aid the regeneration of humanity, churches had special standing: their texts and ministers were the official interpreters of the continent's meaning, both to Americans and to the rest of the world.

SECULARIZATION

The Revolution speeded the transformation of the church's role. Although the sense of mission did not disappear, it was secularized. For the next century churchmen battled with politicians and businessmen for the right to articulate the American dream. They fought a losing contest. Article Six of the Constitution and the First Amendment ended official national sanction. The loss of state support followed, climaxed in 1833 with Massachusetts withdrawing the remnants of privileges enjoyed by the old Congregational parishes.

Churches fought to retain their influence by competing for souls in an age of evangelicalism. Denominationalism—which gloried in common Christian principles and denied the need for theological precision or publicly supported churches—dominated American religious thought. Even those like Lyman Beecher, the father of Harriet Beecher Stowe, who had struggled against the disestablishment of the churches, swung to its support and insisted that ministers had gained in influence because of it.

In fact most of the 19th century American churchmen surfaced in every major social movement. Their outspoken patriotism, their blending of religious truth with national glory routed anti-clericalism. Temperance, abolition, sabbatarianism, social reform, all engaged the energies of at least some clergymen. A few—Henry Ward Beecher, Charles Grandison Finney, and Phillips Brooks, for example—became national leaders. Their flexible doctrines, both theological and social, encouraged wide consensus. Thanks to them and others, American churches did not lose their public function in becoming fully voluntary and private institutions.

ABDICATING AUTHORITY

The divorce between church and state, to be sure, did have its costs. Robbed of their official props, the churches became dependent on majority sentiment, vulnerable to shifts in public mood and opinion. As they participated in the difficult task of social adjustment, many churches abdicated their critical functions. Rather than acting as spokesmen for principles that transcended the clash of interest groups, they voiced the aspirations and the fears of local communities. In time most American churchmen took the path of accommodation. Sects multiplied (built often around the magnetism of a single great leader like Mary Baker Eddy or Brigham Young) and their variety, according to some critics, divided the faithful instead of uniting the community.

Both family and church, in their traditional forms, are victims of a powerful emphasis in America upon personal development. Increasingly church attendance and discipline became rituals which displayed social commitments rather than shaped them. Family relations, once meant to be permanent and unchanging, are subordinated to freedom of movement and the maximizing of personal choice. As voluntary associations, family and church formally survived the changes brought by modernization, but only by selective abandonment of much of their authority.

Republics, more than other societies, require virtuous citizens if they are to function properly. On this the 18th century sages agreed. It was not tyrants who made slaves, ran the old epigram, but slaves who made tyrants. Could virtue be maintained if the authority of family and church, the private matrix, became weakened to the point of irrelevance? Who or what would then be held responsible for maintaining that continuity of values essential to collective social life?

There did seem an answer of sorts. In making some previously public functions private, Americans compensated by making some private functions public. Perhaps the most dramatic of these transformations came with the public schools, which will be the subject of the next article.

15—SOCIALIZING AMERICANS: SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY

By Neil Harris

UPI COMPIX

BLACK STUDENTS BUSED UNDER POLICE PROTECTION, 1974 Do the schools have an obligation to correct inequities in our society?

Americans from the beginning have generally valued education for its intensely practical benefits. Even in the colonial days proponents of education demanded that it serve some useful purpose.

The Puritan leaders of Massachusetts (the first colony in the New World to legislate a public education program) compared the ignorant man to a scabby sheep who might infect the whole flock. Educated men, on the other hand, would be more likely to resist the wiles of Satan, "the old Deluder." Harvard University was founded in 1636, for example, to provide a constant supply of educated ministers—men who could be depended on to counteract the moral slackness of wilderness life.

Outside of New England, however, public education made few advances before the 19th century. And even in New England private fees rather than public aid supported many schools. This was possible because schooling had not yet become synonymous with education. The family and apprenticeship supplied many educational needs, while most colonists worked at farming, which required no formal instruction.

The American Revolution suggested new directions for schools as well as churches. A number of Americans, among them Jefferson and Noah Webster, pleaded for expanded state support, partly to ferret out the gifted and virtuous who would make up a republican ruling class. Jefferson's educational scheme, covering a complex system that moved from infant schools to college training, failed to receive the support of the Commonwealth of Virginia because the expense seemed too great.

Good public schools cost money, and the lack of it remained a stumbling block for many years. School reformers appealed to both the fears and hopes of reluctant taxpayers in their campaigns for public support. Horace Mann, who became secretary to the first Massachusetts Board of Education in 1837 (and remained for more than ten years) insisted that effective education was the best guarantee of social safety, as well as of personal fulfillment.

Republican institutions, he wrote in the 1830s, multiply temptations and quicken passions. "We must not add to the impulsive, without also adding to the regulating forces," he concluded, and compulsory school attendance, together with a state administered system of training teachers, seemed indispensable to curb the dangerous passions of the American electorate.

JUSTIFYING THE SCHOOLS

Like the family, schools could be justified as institutions that enabled ambitious youngsters to adapt to the competitive economic world, and that taught them to resist the pull of undesirable but popular social habits. Educational reformers veered rhetorically back and forth. On the one hand, educational training promoted skills that would assure economic independence. Personal wealth, social standing, emotional maturity, it was argued, all rested upon a solid footing in language, literature, logic, and mathematics. On the other hand, education would counteract the economic, political, and religious delusions that constantly threatened democratic society.

Education in this sense was critical of the culture rather than simply adaptive. To be sure, the skills it developed had universal application—in the countinghouse as well as the library—but it could also be defended on the grounds that such skills had broader value. Having confronted and absorbed the best products of the human mind, young Americans would learn to demand higher standards of their politicians, their poets, their philosophers and their architects.

THE FAILURE OF THE SCHOOLS

By the late 19th century, however, public education seemed to be doing little to promote either resistance or adaptation to society. The functions once performed by the family or the guild had largely disappeared, and the schools had not taken up the slack. Progressive educators, led by John Dewey, G. Stanley Hall, and Francis Parker, attributed the failure to a blind allegiance to outworn formal methods. The overcrowded, often unsanitary schools, with teachers who taught by methods of memorization and recitation, did not prepare the children for the world of industry and cities that awaited them.

Schools broke the continuity of the individual life cycle; they once had aided movement from one stage to another. School work seemed artificial and incomprehensible to young students. They had no preparation for later responsibilities. The school should be neither a refuge nor an asylum, reformers argued. Instead it should be a miniature reconstruction of the world outside, employing common objects and experiences and emphasizing the collective social skills that would aid adjustment to the factory, the urban neighborhood, the mass audience, and the other social groups becoming common in the 20th century.

Aided by insights drawn from contemporary psychologists, reformers condemned an authoritarianism that was as out of place in the school room as it was in politics. A curriculum based on the child's needs meant respecting the child's individuality and encouraging him to make decisions based upon his own judgment and experience. An education which upheld the unquestioned authority of the teacher did not produce good citizens. A specific body of knowledge was less important to citizenship than a socially useful set of attitudes and expectations.

The philosophy of adaptation has dominated 20th century experiments in American education. But inevitably, as school systems have grown larger and equipment more costly, bureaucratic necessity and economic constraints have dulled the sharp edge of earlier hopes. Even during periods of considerable social discontent and economic reversal, schools have been expected somehow to function smoothly and successfully, to prepare the young for entry into real society and at the same time to be independent of larger social problems. Increasingly, as they have grown larger, high schools and colleges have become communities of their own. Through sports, fraternities and societies, student government, clubs, they have transmitted values and practices more effectively than in the classroom.

Nevertheless larger attention continues to focus upon formal instruction. Textbooks, teaching methods, Bible reading, sex education, 'subversive' materials, have all aroused the ire of interested citizens. Because schools are invested with so much responsibility for the maintenance of social order, they continue to be the crucial and contradictory symbol, both of desires for mobility and, at the same time, of an old order of things requiring protection.

THE SCHOOLS AND SOCIAL REFORM

This is most clear in the debates over racial justice. The twenty years since *Brown* vs. *Board of Education* have witnessed great progress and prolonged bickering, as desegregation has proceeded. The schools symbolize the problem which 18th century Americans wrestled with, and hoped they had solved through the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

In a government founded on popular sovereignty, what happens when majority will clashes with inalienable rights? Are schools to carry out the vision of the local community, or the principles embedded in our notion of natural rights? In other words, are schools to adapt to prevailing social circumstances, or are they to criticize and try to change inequitable arrangements?

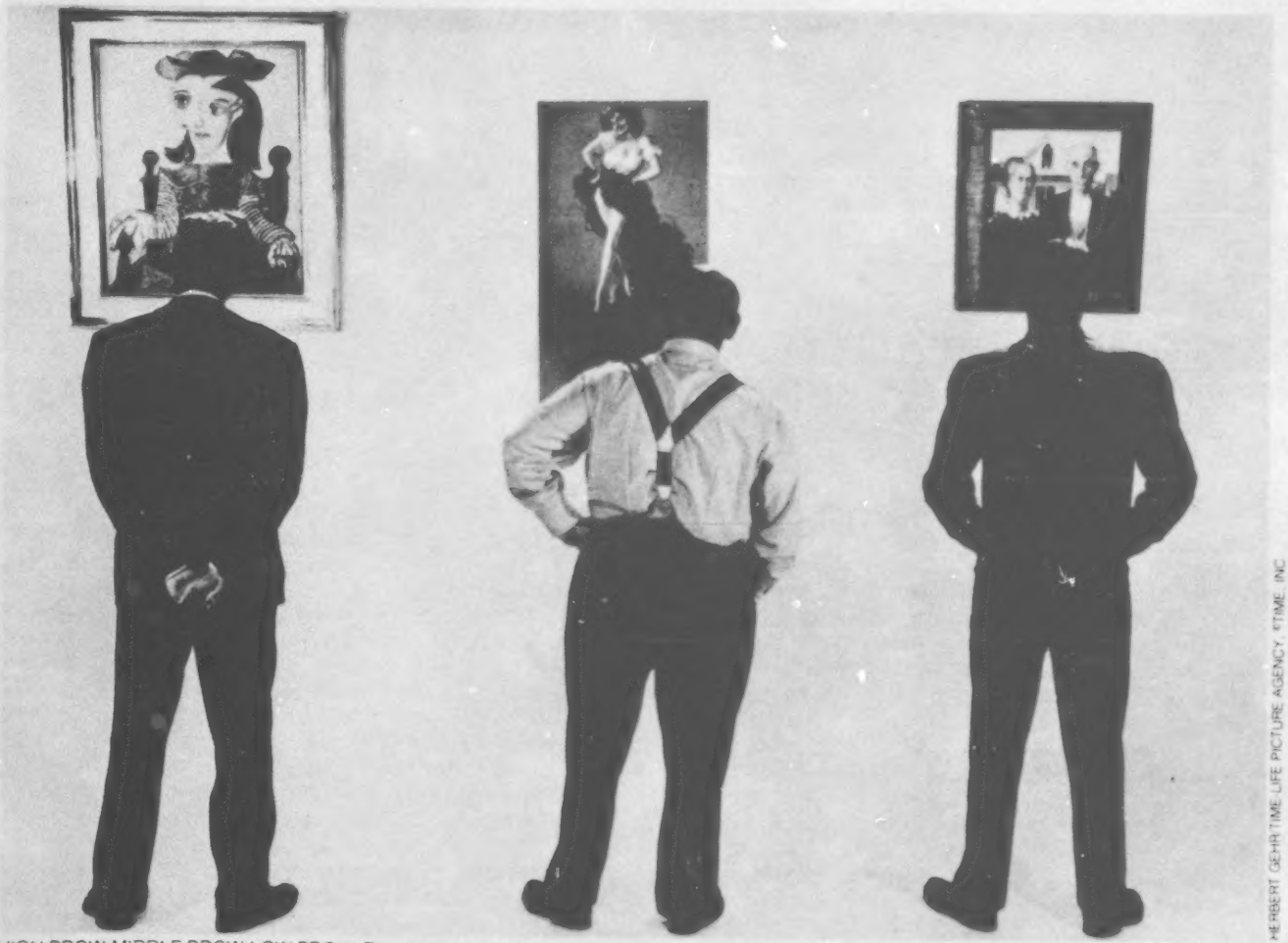
The issues are complex. The school is once again seen as a weapon to construct a new and different society. Witness the current agony over court-ordered bussing in urban school systems. The school can become once more an asylum, not an *intellectual* asylum to project traditional knowledge, but a *social* asylum, a microcosm of ideal rather than of existing contemporary social conditions.

Increasingly, as the historian Rowland Berthoff has observed, modern American schools are assuming the position of an established Church; their monopoly is justified by the fundamental tasks they perform and their relationship to social peace. But just as issues of belief and organization plagued the older churches, so the modern school is challenged by dissenters who argue that salvation can be reached by many roads, and that toleration—through tax support—is the best way of ensuring harmony and progress. For so long a symbol of democratic society, the public school is now being challenged by proponents of voucher systems who argue that a return to competition and private management may be the solution to social as well as educational problems.

Americans have historically emphasized the service functions of education, but we may be witnessing the beginnings of a basic alteration in our attitudes. It remains to be seen whether public education can continue to provide an article of faith for the nation.

16—POPULAR CULTURE AS A REFLECTION OF AMERICAN CHARACTER

Neil Harris



HERBERT GEHR TIME-LIFE PICTURE AGENCY, ©TIME, INC.

HIGH BROW-MIDDLE BROW-LOW BROW. There has long been a split between the advocates of "high culture" and "popular culture."

The search for an American culture has gone on almost continuously since the early nineteenth century. In the first flush of revolutionary enthusiasm, patriot fathers felt less impelled to demonstrate the national genius in art and literature, than they did in politics.

The revolutionary cause, moreover, was cosmopolitan, not narrowly nationalistic. It aimed at nothing less than transforming the world. But by the early nineteenth century Americans identified the cause of republicanism with the fate of the United States alone. Repeated disappointments in France, England, and Latin America convinced many of them that liberty would continue to be persecuted everywhere but in their own land.

European hostility took particular forms. By the 1820s America's enemies could not deny the permanence of the United States. The political fabric had survived despite predictions of failure. America's weakness, seemed now to lie in art rather than politics.

"Who reads an American book?" Sidney Smith, an English clergyman, asked in 1820. "In the four quarters of the globe, who reads an American book? or goes to an American play? or looks at an American picture or statue?" Raw, dull, uncouth, uninteresting, these were the adjectives European critics flung at American creative works. Stung by this abuse, American critics inflated the merits of home-grown artistic products. Backwoods poets became the equals of Keats or Wordsworth, while sign painters and limners were proclaimed youthful Michelangelos.

Despite the exaggerations of friendly critics and the helping hands of patrons, most of our early nineteenth century artists acknowledged the bitter truth: that America, with its size, wealth, and political destiny, remained a bit player on the stage of world culture. The treasure house of the polite arts—music, painting, sculpture, architecture—remained in Europe. Occasional American genius did appear, but as exceptions, often resentful of their isolation. Taught by politics or religion to suspect the expense of

wealth and energy that great art required, not many Americans regretted their cultural deprivation. The material prosperity and technological progress of the United States seemed more significant contributions to world civilization. Art would arrive later. By the time of our Centennial most American artists, critics, and laymen agreed that a national culture was desirable, but that it could come only through absorption and imitation of European models.

A NATIONAL CULTURE

But not all Americans subscribed to this dubious standard. Some declared that Americans already had developed a culture of their own and warned that imitation of Europe would prove disastrous.

In the 1840s a sculptor named Horatio Greenough argued for "Greek principles, not Greek things," principles of fitness and efficiency he found embodied in American locomotives and clipper ships. His doctrine of functionalism was applauded by men like Emerson who took Nature and not Europe for their muse. "Life is our dictionary," Emerson cried. If the American artist will consider "the climate, the soil, the length of the day, the wants of the people, the habit and form of the government," he need not fear European comparison.

In the later nineteenth century, as the technologies of engineering appropriated new methods and materials of construction, Louis Sullivan and then Frank Lloyd Wright took up where Greenough had left off. American skyscrapers, office buildings, railroad stations, prairie houses could become our cathedrals, palaces, and old masters.

HIGH CULTURE VS. POPULAR CULTURE

But however eloquent their words and achievements, Sullivan and Wright did not represent the majority view of culture. The guardians of taste, the defenders of high culture, determined what was legitimate or illegitimate in the arts. Painting and sculpture deserved respect, not cartooning and rug-weaving; Chinese pottery could enter the museum, contemporary book-binding would not; grand opera (sung in foreign tongues) was admissible into the Pantheon of Culture, but musical comedy was not. By definition whatever was popular or widespread was suspect.

The split between what most Americans read, heard, and consumed, and what custodians of culture considered worthy did produce reactions. By the 1920s students of American life like Lewis Mumford, Constance Rourke, and Gilbert Seldes helped organize a counter-attack. They defended American folk tales, vaudeville, engineering, handicrafts as distinctive American contributions deserving study and respect. Instead of berating Americans for falling below European standards, they urged that we try to uncover and evaluate our own originality.

More than the energy and intelligence of critics contributed to the self-consciousness of American popular culture. Characteristically, a series of specific inventions and technologies liberated native achievements from the restraint of old categories. In film, recording, radio and television, vast and unformed audiences permitted the creation of new traditions. Certification came not from academic experts or learned commentaries, but from the test of the marketplace: How did it sell?

Aggressive merchandising techniques enabled cultural entrepreneurs to reach enormous audiences. And with them came influences more decisive than those exerted by church, family, or school systems. Ironically, in several decades America has passed from a society whose culture was overshadowed by its political ideology, to a society almost culturally top-heavy, its forms of expression shaping rather than reflecting standards of conduct and belief. To a large extent film and television have replaced school and church as the shapers of public values.

MASS MEDIA, MASS CULTURE

The power of the mass media, that central feature of contemporary popular culture, lies in their application of commercial values and methods. Image-making is supported either by advertising other products or through self-commemoration. The celebrity, the star system, the talk show, the golden record, the Oscar, the Grammy and the Emmy, all are central to the American experience. They signify competition, the search for exposure, and the desire to legitimate both through popularity.

Fashions, fads, and cults spring as easily from the television screen and the phonograph records as profits return to their promotors. Contemporary heroes develop their strength not only from politics, business, education, or religion, but even more importantly from this world of entertainment and news production. Increasingly, our common experience is based upon these media of expression and their stars. Eras are dated by their songs, their soap operas, their films, and their sports heroes, packaged and prepared for mass taste.

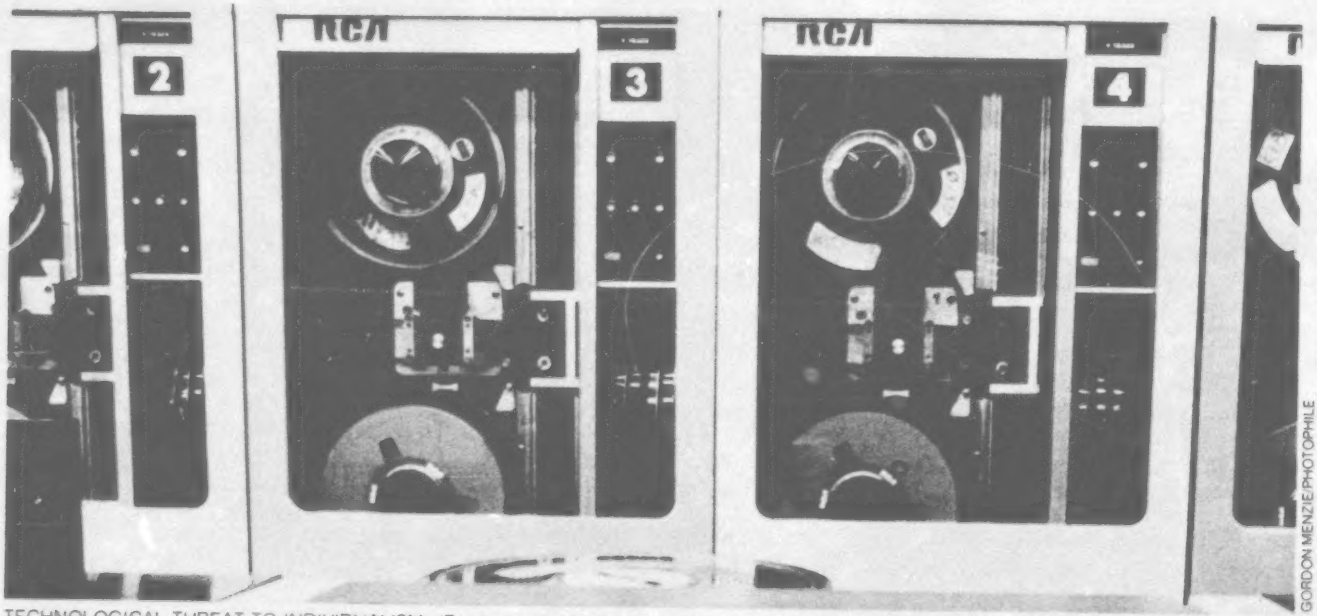
However divided by social background or political belief, Americans come together on the playing fields of mass consumption, united in the purchase of dreams of a better life. The genius for mechanical reproduction, which found its outlet in the artifacts of America's first industrial age —cotton gins, steam engines, balloon frame houses—is now resolved through sound and image.

Popular culture defines as well as integrates. The size of the mass market permits the cultivation of some variety; do-it-yourselfers, hobbyists, collectors, amateur musicians, college theatricals are integral parts of today's popular culture. Indeed, many define themselves by their membership in such groups; ethnic, class, and political commitments are displayed by acts of audience participation.

Despite its activist sectors, however, American culture is popular through consumption rather than production habits. It is the code of the spectator rather than the performer that is most powerful. And in its hostility to or vulgarization of high culture, its competitiveness, its emphasis on magnitude and measurement, and its certifying powers, this culture derives from the larger character of American society—its colonial origins, its racial heterogeneity, its capitalistic ethos and rapid mobility. Dominated by private interests and private tastes, the world of popular culture breaks down old boundaries between the sacred and profane and invites new definitions. Called, variously, conservative and revolutionary, instructive and cliched, reality-oriented and reality-denying, no generalization can cover this realm of self-absorption. But in the bicentennial year, American involvement in creating, manipulating, and consuming this empire of dreams and images appears to have greater contemporary relevance than traditional political ideals.

17—THE RUGGED INDIVIDUALIST: THE SURVIVAL OF INDIVIDUALISM IN A MASS SOCIETY

by Neil Harris



GORDON MENZIE/PHOTOPHILE

TECHNOLOGICAL THREAT TO INDIVIDUALISM "Rugged individualism" faces new challenges in an age of computers, credit cards, and ciphers.

Americans are probably less constrained by established institutions, attitudes and values than people in older societies. Of all the major social forms—religion, family, education, and state—only the state remains as a powerful molder of choices.

Primarily through its economic mechanisms—the tax structure, banking and fiscal policies, hiring practices, welfare allowances—the state vitally affects personal life styles. In the last two decades the federal government has declared war against many informal mechanisms which differentiate the larger population: age and sex discrimination, racial and residential segregation, religious and economic tests for organization membership, and invidious practices of schools, clubs, and corporations. The rights of the individual—juvenile or aged, black or white, man or woman—have achieved greater legal security than ever before in our history.

And yet, few Americans appear to believe that the possibilities of individual choice have been increased in the last hundred years. The desire for greater freedom seems to clash with the conditions of life, and the past is invariably romanticized as a better time. Only the most obvious victims of past injustices—blacks, native and hispanic Americans, Asians, women—fail to join the celebration of freedoms lost.

THE THREAT TO PRIVACY

The threat to privacy does not come from any particular group or institution. It lies in the growth of mass society, in gigantic corporate enterprise, in congested cities and suburbs, mass production and bureaucracy, homogeneous communications media—nothing less than modernization itself.

Such conditions might seem to favor individualism, or at least one of its characteristics. In a society with little respect for tradition or authority, people might be expected to cut themselves off from the external world and retreat into private enclaves or to the company of family and friends. Tocqueville called this state of mind "individualism" and found it attainable—even prevalent—in the age of Jackson.

Although Tocqueville found no equivalent in the United States for the castes, established churches, and patriarchal families he had known in Europe, he encountered workable if weaker social institutions. The family was based more on affection than authority; religions were voluntary associations rather than state supported churches. Both, however, formed asylums for Americans who wished to escape from the pressure and bustle of their larger society.

By the mid-twentieth century this ability to retreat from the world had become much more difficult. Certainly the opportunities for recreation appeared to increase. Summer vacations, travel, country clubs, movies, television, spectator sports, hobbies, all offered outlets for fatigue and monotony. But the logic of their scale and economy dictated adjustments, and the habits of urban (or suburban) life were hard to lose.

One symbol of the new connectedness was the tele-

phone. In countless numbers of ways the telephone aided comfort, security, efficiency, and self-expression. No other people adopted it with such enthusiasm, or managed it so effectively. But the telephone was also an instrument which shattered rituals of withdrawal. Its abuses—product selling, obscene calls, wrong numbers, interrupted dinners—as well as its dispersion—into boats, trains, autos—suggested some of these problems. Telephones gave people more choices, and transcended barriers of space. But they also made many choices less meaningful, by radically reducing the ability to escape certain pressures, contacts, or contingencies.

If by individualism, then, we mean the ability to withdraw to oneself, it has been severely diminished by one instrument which claimed to enhance it.

LOSS OF AUTONOMY

Individualism possesses another meaning which seems to have shrunk: that sense of autonomy and satisfaction that men could gain from feeling bigger than the institutions which served them. Up through the early twentieth century American life seemed flexible. Reformers could urge the remolding of basic economic and political practices, and promise a return to older days. As late as Woodrow Wilson's 1912 campaign, national leaders could attack bigness and elaborate organization as evils in themselves. Memory permitted a recollection of different times. Institutions were relatively young.

We now live with a sense of permanence that dims the range of new possibilities. The patterns and cycles of life are repetitive, and shame audacious plans. The new becomes old, and the old becomes historic. Not only individuals lose their autonomy; whole generations have become conscious of limitations. The optimism of an Emerson or a Whitman is rarely heard, and our political dialogues are conducted within narrower limits. Autonomy has merged into determinism.

GENERALIZATION OF DANGER

Another danger to individualism—and its confidence in personal power and achievements—has come through the generalization of danger. Free choice and self-sufficiency were once nourished by a sense of apartness. Threats against liberty and welfare could be identified. The memorable epitomes of American individualism—the Minute Man, standing on Concord Green, the frontiersman crossing the Cumberland Gap with Daniel Boone, the Union Volunteer, the Horatio Alger businessman —were compounds of pluck and luck, fortunate because their hours of decision coincided with momentous choices. The dangers were clear and visible: death in battle, defeat by Indians or climate, business conquest by competitors.

By the middle of this century, however, most Americans found it difficult to specify the major threats to their happiness and security. Fears about dangerous conspiracies reassured some, but these crusades have tended to be short-lived and episodic, whether the enemies were Catholics, Communists, evolutionists, or hippies. Scapegoat thinking proved insufficient. No one group or event appeared responsible for personal insecurity, depression, or domestic unhappiness. Where there was no blame and no enemy, individualism diminished, for it had nothing to measure itself against. Even personal victories were difficult to gauge. Symbols of material success continue to be coveted, but in a world of big business and government, the relationship between economic success and individualism is uncertain.

The increase of communal experiments (some of which descend, in spirit, from 19th century utopias) and the recent surge of interest in China and its extraordinary display of social discipline suggest that individualism as a value and a lifestyle is under attack. Crowded living conditions and interdependence have emphasized the need for public intervention and for collective solutions to problems like health care, crime, housing, and poverty.

SURVIVAL OF THE IDEAL

And yet, despite the checks that modern life has placed upon practical individualism, and the surfacing of alternate visions, most Americans remain committed to an ideal society that maximizes individual choices and permits men and women to rise or fall by their own efforts. The vision of a better future compounded from personal ambition and advancement, still holds people together. Sixty-five years ago, Herbert Croly, the prophet of Theodore Roosevelt's brand of Progressivism, called on Americans to abandon their dreams of economic individualism and to subordinate "the individual to the demand of a dominant and constructive national purpose." The state, Croly prophesied, would make itself "responsible for a morally and socially desirable distribution of wealth."

Croly's call went unanswered. Despite the growth of new public commitments, and a whole range of programs designed to minimize economic and social inequalities, individualism survives as an ideal. All kinds of movements testify to its vigor. Conservation and ecology interests, for example, have many sources, and demand collective solutions. But one of their chief motives is to protect nature as a testing place and refuge for the individual, *an asylum for reevaluation of his priorities.*

Despite the growth of violent crime, millions of Americans insist that the right to possess firearms is a basic part of their civic identity. The advantages of mass transit seem undeniable, yet the ownership and operation of private automobiles remain a dominant goal. Computerized data banks and political eavesdropping have reached new heights, yet counterattacks have demonstrated national resentment of supervision and invasions of privacy.

It is difficult, of course, in a world of credit cards, telephone numbers, and finger prints, for individualism as anonymity to survive. But if most Americans adjust to this kingdom of digits and ciphers, they still cling to older notions of personal sovereignty. A significant American art form—the Western—indulges this continuing admiration for personal heroism and the exploits of the self-sufficient individual.

Is individualism likely to flourish in a world increasingly dominated by complex public institutions? Will the placing of limits on will and action actually increase chances for variety and personal fulfillment? Born in a colonial revolution, America defined its freedoms outside the rituals, structures, and formalities of traditional societies. The question today is whether social discipline and individual desire can still co-exist creatively in the American republic of 1976—and beyond.

CONCLUSION

By DANIEL AARON and ALLEN WEINSTEIN

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

DANIEL AARON, academic coordinator of this Course by Newspaper, was a member of the original planning group for the American Issues Forum. He is currently Victor Thomas Professor in the Department of English and American Language and Literature at Harvard University. A frequent lecturer abroad, Professor Aaron taught for more than 30 years at Smith College, where he was director of American Studies. From 1971-1973 he served as President of the American Studies Association. Among his many books are *Men of Good Hope*, *Writers on the Left*, and *The Unwritten War: American Writers and the Civil War.*

18—AMERICAN VALUES: PERMANENCE AND CHANGE

By Daniel Aaron and Allen Weinstein

MICHAEL MUCKLEY/PHOTOPHILE

INHERITORS OF THE PAST, JUDGES OF THE FUTURE. Our own response to change today will determine the nature of our country in the years ahead.

We are celebrating our Bicentennial at a time when observers of all political persuasions see a Dis-United States, a country made up of feuding 'tribal groups,' even as our leaders resort to a rhetoric of consensus and urge us to pursue common ends.

Is consensus possible when partisans of ethnic, racial, and even sexual groups add their voices to the social discord? Are the current agitations merely the aftermath of the Vietnam disaster and a generation of Cold War stalemate? Is Watergate a cause? A symptom? Is the United States, in short, suffering from an overdue and salutary case of collective uncertainty (which is curable) or, as some doomsters insist, from an irreversible and terminal national ailment?

There are no simple answers to these questions, or to others raised in the previous seventeen essays on the molding of American values presented in this series. Messers Weinstein, Heilbroner, Samuelson, LaFeber, and Harris have not tried to sugar-coat the facts or to understate America's predicament. They have skillfully described the socio-economic signs of the national illness; they have pointed out its global manifestations. Their diagnosis of the United States and the American people is far from reassuring.

A runaway economy struggles to rationalize its operations and aims, with Government periodically intruding to hinder rather than to help the process. Millions of citizens appear discontented and anxious during both their working and leisure hours and are no longer buoyed up by rising expectations of the good life. Traditional patterns of authority once reflected in family structure, work habits, church attendance, economic behavior, and systems of thought are disintegrating.

THE VELOCITY OF CHANGE

So convulsive have the changes been in recent years, so numerous the alterations, that the *velocity* of change itself, regardless of its consequences, is a terrifying aspect. The media itself seems to exercise an authority of its reshape the values of countless people every day, and no machinery has yet evolved to control or modify their impact. The media itself seems to exercise an authority of its own beyond the powers of its alleged directors.

The youth culture, the drug culture, new family modes,

computer technology, the sexual revolution, strain the small measure of social cohesion which tenuously binds our society. Tensions within communities multiply. They threaten the delicate adjustments that in the past fostered neighborly coexistence. Special interest groups—ethnic, racial, sexual, economic, political—calling for their own brands of liberty, equality, and democracy, periodically ruffle the social waters.

These are some of the reasons, perhaps, why many social and political theorists in and out of the academic scene now conclude that the country is sinking beneath the weight of its burdens. Minority pressures, it is claimed, are extending ever further the functions of a government already dangerously overextended and, in the process, eroding the liberties of the majority. To the more darkly pessimistic of these viewers-with-alarm, the violent transformations in our society only aggravate economic and political disease and threaten to bring down our institutions.

Some think our age is unique in the magnitude and rapidity of the social changes it is undergoing. Whether so or not, it is not the first time that the United States has confronted comparatively rapid transformation in values and institutions. These earlier experiences can serve, if not as guides to the presently perplexed, then at least as reminders that the country has managed to survive its crises in the past without destroying its constitutional foundations. All five writers in this series provide evidence to show how new and unanticipated changes occurring in our history reshaped existing institutions and created new social and economic patterns without resort to revolutionary solutions.

LESSONS FROM THE PAST

But what can history tell us of the thoughts and emotions of Americans who lived through these risky periods of transition?

It is instructive to recall a well-known figure of more than a century ago who returned to his native land in 1865 after spending almost a decade abroad. The post-Civil War scene stunned this American, Henry Adams—historian and man of letters, and descendant of two Presidents. The pre-war republic he remembered with mixed feelings "was always trying, almost as blindly as an earthworm, to realize and understand itself; to catch up with its own head, and twist about in search of its tail. Society offered the profile of a long, straggling caravan, stretching loosely toward the prairies, its few more of leaders far in advance and its millions of immigrants, negroes, and Indians far in the rear, somewhat in archaic time."

Adams tells us that he felt less estranged from that ante-bellum world than he did from the industrialized America which produced such drastic alterations in American life. He portrayed himself as a hapless "survivor" from a lost agrarian society: "he twisted about, in vain, to recover his starting point; he could no longer see his own trail . . . His world was dead . . . He had been unfairly forced off the track, and must get back into it as best he could."

Adams' determination to confront "as best he could" his own era's traumatic changes suggests a response to the challenge faced by Americans in the Bicentennial year who confront an equally transformed "post-industrial world." Like us, he had begun to question the notion of "Progress" or "Growth" as absolute goods and to distrust the humanitarian hopes of the 18th century. The Enlightenment of the 18th century had done much to ameliorate century-old abuses. It had introduced constitutional government, prepared the climate for free public education, universal suffrage, a more humane treatment of the criminal and the insane.

But in the 19th century, a technological revolution accompanied humanitarian reforms with its "man-displacing mechanisms," in Lewis Mumford's phrase, and the enshrinement of the belief that Science, Invention, Technology, Progress were interchangeable words. Adams expressed the fear that Science would ultimately blow up the world, a prophecy less bizarre today than it was when he made it. He also doubted, given the ever-accelerating pace of technological advance, whether enough mind-power could be generated to slow down the rate of change and to control its social and cultural consequences.

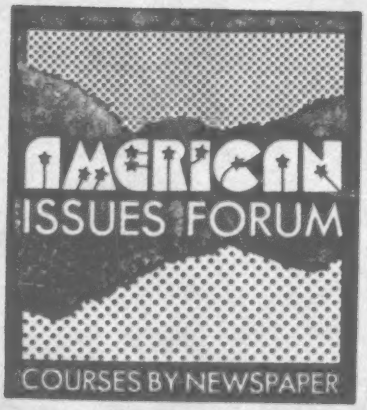
RESPONDING TO CHANGE

Our own response to change need be neither passive nor hysterical, but we can no longer claim immunity from the penalties other nations have suffered for their failures and blunderings. It is unlikely that American society will be consumed in the apocalypse eagerly awaited in some quarters during the chaotic Sixties, and it is premature to act as if the Day of Doom is one week away. Barring some world catastrophe, the nation will probably not embark on any revolutionary course, and we can expect in the coming years the usual series of expected and unexpected gains and setbacks.

Americans already are more moderate in their aspirations (given the realities of the current recession) than the previous generation and readier to adjust to a society of limited growth. No doubt we shall continue to wash our dirty linen in public and carry on our noisy internal debate. "There are, after all (as Daniel Moynihan, our Ambassador to the United Nations, remarked) two kinds of political regimes: those whose crimes you read about in history books, and those whose crimes you read about in newspapers. Ours is of the latter, less common kind."

As the Bicentennial approaches, we might with some justification strike a moderately affirmative note in assessing the present and future condition of American life. We can be self-critical without being self-destructive, reject the illusion of an 'exceptional' missionary role for the United States in a disorderly world of contending nationalisms, while at the same time acknowledging unashamedly the best aspects of our heritage.

How we face up to our responsibilities will be judged kindly or harshly by our posterity at some future Super-Anniversary. But if the historic processes so ably described in our newspaper series continue, the future of the country in all likelihood will be no less turbulent and changing than its past. It is to be hoped that our successors can look upon us (to revert to a point we made when introducing this series) not only as a sometimes foolish and forgetful people, but also as a people which faced up to its natural and man-made crises with determination and composure.



COURSES BY NEWSPAPER

AMERICAN ISSUES FORUM II:
THE MOLDING OF AMERICAN VALUES

EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

Midterm Exam — 1 hour

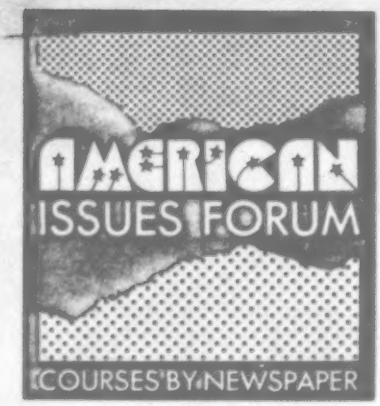
"Assembly line," "alienation," "labor underclass," "work ethic," "blue collar class," "mixed economy," "free private enterprise," "stagflation," "isolationsm," "the Imperial Presidency," "revolution," "individualism," "socialization," "inner-directed."

These terms and concepts have figured prominently in your reading. Choose any THREE of them and write an essay on a topic which will (1) define their meaning and significance, (2) relate them to specific issues or events past or present, and (3) discuss their relevance, if any, to the molding of American values.

Final Exam — 1 hour

Neil Harris concludes that "despite the checks modern life has placed upon practical individualism, and the surfacing of alternative visions, most Americans remain committed to an ideal society that maximizes individual choices and permits men and women to rise or fall by their own efforts."

Do you agree? Would Messers, Heilbroner, Samuelson, and LaFeber concur with Harris assertion? In your essay, make a case for or against this statement or qualify it in any way you see fit. Draw your illustrations, as much as possible, from the assigned readings.



COURSES BY NEWSPAPER

AMERICAN ISSUES FORUM II
"The Molding of American Values"

Mid-Term Exam

1. Jefferson's democratic ideal was a true reality for all Americans (1) in 1776; (2) when the United States celebrated its "semi-centennial" in 1826; (3) at the time of the centennial celebration in 1876; (4) never.

2. The major change in the American work experience since the colonial period is (1) the shift from agriculture to occupations no longer closely related to nature; (2) the severe reduction in urban occupations; (3) the substitution of small, family farms for large-scale farming; (4) the displacement of "service" occupations by production jobs.

3. The latest development in the American work experience is (1) the brutality of work in the steel mills; (2) the introduction of the assembly lines; (3) the predominance of "white collar" work; (4) the development of the Lowell system.

4. In colonial America (1) hired labor was readily available; (2) land was difficult to acquire; (3) labor was scarce; (4) land and labor were equally obtainable.

5. The weak "underclass" of labor in the United States, as Heilbroner notes has been made up of (1) slaves, women, children, and skilled workers; (2) skilled workers, slaves, women, and immigrants; (3) skilled workers, women, children, and immigrants; (4) slaves, women, and immigrants.

6. Which one of the following factors did not help to shape the American "work ethic"? (1) religious attitudes; (2) the demands of American employers; (3) economic necessity; (4) lack of opportunity to get ahead.

7. Evidence of widespread "moonlighting" supports the argument that the traditional American work ethic (1) remains strong; (2) has weakened; (3) has been totally abandoned; (4) now applies only to professionls.

8. By "the rising threshhold of job acceptability," Heilbroner means (1) increasing willingness to take whatever job is offered; (2) increasingly high performance standards required of workers; (3) increasing reluctance to take unpleasant or unrewarding jobs; (4) increasingly lax performance standards required of workers.

9. A pure "free enterprise" economic system is based on the free operation of forces of supply and demand (1) without any government interference; (2) with government protection of manufacturing through tariff legislature; (3) with tax incentives to encourage business activity; (4) within a market system closely regulated by government.

10. In 1929, which one of the following characteristics was not true of American market capitalism? (1) periodic business cycles; (2) low average living standards; (3) monopoly; (4) inadequate retirement systems for workers.

11. The major shift to a "mixed economy" in the United States came (1) before 1900; (2) after World War I; (3) during the 1930s; (4) after World War II.

12. Samuelson observes that our welfare state "mixed economy" has not fulfilled its promises. Which one of the following is not one of the factors he cites to support that observation? (1) the relative distribution of income has changed little since 1945; (2) industrial concentration has diminished significantly; (3) government regulatory commissions have performed poorly; (4) the modern economic system has become more rigid and inflexible, as evidenced by recent "stagflation."

13. Arguments in support of advertising include all of the following except: (1) our system of free press and open radio and television depends on advertising; (2) advertising on the whole reduces competition among firms; (3) advertising is a necessary mechanism in the modern economy; (4) advertising helps consumers to learn of worthy products.

14. In the United States, government action regarding advertising (1) includes regulations regarding products' health hazards and claims; (2) includes special taxes on advertising; (3) includes direct subsidies to advertising; (4) observes a strict "hands off" policy.

15. Which one of the following factors does Samuelson cite in his analysis of continued American economic growth? (1) the rate of U.S. population growth continues to rise; (2) during the next twenty-five years, the U.S. per capita real income will probably decline; (3) world economic output is now growing at a rate higher than that of a century ago; (4) other nations cannot hope to equal or exceed the American level of affluence.

16. On the whole, American frontier agriculture (1) required a large capital investment; (2) initially required exhausting toil and hardship; (3) seldom involved accessory occupations like hunting, fishing, lumbering; (4) resulted in little ultimate profit to the farmer.

17. Modern mechanized agriculture (1) is no longer dependent on the weather; (2) requires a large capital investment; (3) requires a much shorter work day for the farmer during the harvest season; (4) requires little in the way of business management skills and procedures.

18. Former agricultural workers (1) adjusted easily to the work habits required in factories; (2) resisted the strict discipline industrial employers demanded; (3) welcomed the narrow specialization of tasks in factory work; (4) seldom made acceptable factory workers.

19. Most assembly-line workers according to Bell and Serrin, (1) take personal pride in their product; (2) find their work dull and boring; (3) find their work no less brutish and dangerous than turn-of-the-century steel mill work; (4) have no fear of increased automation.

20. Although child labor was common before it was outlawed in the late 1930s, (1) few girls were employed outside the home; (2) children seldom worked in the mines; (3) safety regulations protected working children from hazardous occupations; (4) children were paid less than adult workers.

21. The Lynds' study of "Middletown" in the 1920s found that the primary satisfaction gained from work was (1) the sense of craftsmanship; (2) the experience of group solidarity; (3) the pleasure and creativity of the work itself; (4) the money received for it.

22. "Post-industrial society" is characterized by (1) close association with nature, with most people again employed in agriculture and other extractive industries; (2) a service economy, with most people employed in blue-collar occupations; (3) increased individualism, with public mechanisms playing a lesser role in the allocation of goods and services; (4) a service economy, in which the quality of life, as measured by the health, education, recreation, and cultural services provided everyone, becomes a primary concern.

23. In theory, the central mechanism of free private enterprise capitalism is (1) competition; (2) social justice; (3) monopoly; (4) government intervention.

24. Free enterprise economic theory asserts that individual choices automatically result in maximum satisfaction at minimum costs. Critics from Henry Demarest Lloyd to Ralph Nader have argued that free choice does not in fact prevail in the American economy because of (1) the incompatibility of state and federal regulatory laws; (2) the cut-throat competition among small entrepreneurs; (3) the power of monopoly combinations and giant corporations to control the market and influence government; (4) the inability of suppliers to charge "all the traffic will bear."

25. Russell Conwell, Horatio Alger, Andrew Carnegie, and Herbert Hoover all shared (1) a belief in the federal government's obligation to assist needy individuals; (2) a faith in the individual's ability to succeed through self-reliance and self-help; (3) an awareness of the social costs of free enterprise capitalism; (4) a critical attitude regarding the effects of business combinations on the market place.

26. In his Commonwealth Club campaign speech in 1932, Franklin Roosevelt argued that (1) voluntary organizations and state and local government must remain responsible for providing unemployment relief; (2) socialism was the only answer to depression economic problems; (3) the federal government must act to protect the economic rights of the individual; (4) the federal government should accept responsibility for providing relief but must never resort to business and financial regulation.

27. According to David Potter, in our "society of abundance" (1) advertising's encouragement of a consumer mentality has no cultural ill effects; (2) advertising adequately fulfills its responsibility as an "institution for social control"; (3) advertising negatively influences popular standards and values when it shapes the content of the magazines and media programs it finances; (4) advertising helps to discourage materialistic attitudes.

28. In the United States, economic growth (1) has been a continuing reality, but was always considered a debatable objective; (2) was seldom possible, although most Americans favored it; (3) has only occurred in the last twenty years and raised no serious questions regarding its benefits; (4) has been a continuing reality and an acceptable objective, but many Americans now ask whether it can or should continue.

29. According to Robert Heilbroner, the "ecological crisis" (1) involves only environmental pollution; (2) affects only the developed countries; (3) affects both developed and undeveloped countries; (4) affects only the undeveloped countries.

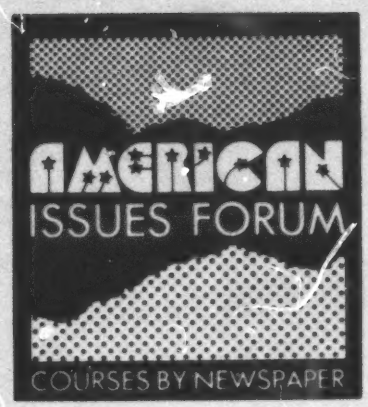
30. Economists criticize the M.I.T. "Limits to Growth" study because (1) it fails to consider the population explosion; (2) it fails to take into account the workings of the price system in adjusting to supply and demand; (3) it overemphasizes public opinion polls; (4) it does not use modern computer modeling techniques.

COURSES BY NEWSPAPER

AMERICAN ISSUES FORUM II
"The Molding of American Values"

Mid-Term Exam
Answers

1.	4	16.	2
2.	1	17.	2
3.	3	18.	2
4.	3	19.	2
5.	4	20.	4
6.	4	21	4
7.	1	22.	4
8.	3	23.	1
9.	1	24.	3
10.	2	25.	2
11.	3	26.	3
12.	2	27.	3
13.	2	28.	4
14.	1	29.	3
15.	3	30.	2



COURSES BY NEWSPAPER

AMERICAN ISSUES FORUM II
"The Molding of American Values"

Final Examination Questions

1. Which of the following does not characterize the American work experience? (1) a weak labor bargaining position of minorities and women; (2) an historically strong "work ethic"; (3) the early development of strong labor unions; (4) a currently growing percentage of service occupations in the total work force.

2. The American economic system today is a (1) pure "free enterprise" economy; (2) a "mixed economy"; (3) a "planned" economy; (4) a "mercantilist" economy.

3. Which one of the following does not apply to American advertising? (1) it is an essential mechanism in the modern economy; (2) it influences cultural standards; (3) it finances free press, radio and television; (4) it is government-controlled through taxation.

4. According to Walter LaFeber, a mood of crisis and a sense of insecurity characterized American national life (1) only in the early years of the Republic; more often than not throughout our history; (3) only occasionally; (4) only recently.

5. The American Revolution was (1) more an anti-colonial war for independence than a social revolution; (2) more a social revolution than an anti-colonial war for independence; (3) as much a social revolution as an anti-colonial war for independence; (4) neither a social revolution nor an anti-colonial war for independence.

6. Regarding revolutions in other countries, Americans have (1) consistently supported other nations' right to revolution; (2) tended to sympathize with and support revolutions abroad; (3) tended to oppose revolutions abroad; (4) generally remained indifferent to revolutions abroad.

7. The balance of power to control foreign policy between Congress and the presidency (1) shifted significantly in favor of the presidency before 1820; (2) shifted significantly in favor of the Congress before World War I; (3) shifted significantly in favor of the presidency during Franklin Roosevelt's administration; (4) shifted significantly in favor of the Congress during Lyndon Johnson's presidency.

8. The institution of the family in America (1) was strengthened by the abundance of land for settlement; (2) was weakened after the Revolution by doctrines of individualism and personal fulfillment; (3) was unaffected by rising divorce rates; (4) has weakened, but the value of marriage itself has not yet been questioned.

9. The role of the church in American life has (1) changed from one which emphasized personal development to one that now stresses communal responsibility; (2) strengthened in comparison to its role in the colonial period; (3) changed from one which stressed communal responsibility to one that now emphasizes personal development; (4) remained strong by equally stressing personal development and communal responsibility.

10. Before the nineteenth century, public education in America was (1) uncommon outside of New England; (2) well established in all areas of the country; (3) available only to the uncommonly gifted; (4) generally considered a necessary tax expense in order to develop an informed citizenry.

11. Late nineteenth-century American educational reformers advocated (1) a return to memorization and recitation; (2) an emphasis on classical studies; (3) making schooling relevant to the real world; (4) abandonment of "progressive education" theories and practices.

12. For Americans, popular culture today is characterized by all of the following <u>except</u>: (1) the dominant role of the mass media; (2) commercial values and methods; (3) active production and participation by most Americans; (4) passive consumption habits in most Americans.

13. According to Neil Harris, public values today are shaped primarily by (1) the schools; (2) the churches; (3) film and television; (4) political activity.

14. In modern America, individualism (1) remains undiluted in practice; (2) has been strengthened by the growth of mass society; (3) is no longer an objective for most Americans; (4) survives as a vital ideal.

15. Historical evidence shows that American values and institutions (1) have often been reshaped in the past; (2) have remained constant throughout our history; (3) are only now beginning to change; (4) cannot be changed without resort to revolutionary solutions.

16. Which of the following does <u>not</u> apply to pre-industrial society? (1) life closely tied to the rhythms of nature; (2) a high percentage of workers employed in agriculture; (3) a high material standard of living; (4) low productivity per worker-hour.

17. American free enterprise capitalism has been criticized for (1) placing human values before profits; (2) allowing monopoly combinations to persist; (3) refusing to allow any government assistance to business; (4) failing to stimulate consumer demand through advertising.

18. Continued economic growth (1) will have no environmental impact; (2) will not affect world resources; (3) will not involve the price system mechanism; (4) is no longer an unquestioned objective.

19. In Washington's Farewell Address in 1796 the rule he urged America to follow in regard to foreign nations was: (1) in extending our commercial relations to have with them as little political connection as possible; (2) to avoid political connections with them by having as little commercial relations with them as possible; (3) to extend our commercial relations with them as far as possible by encouraging political connections; (4) in extending our political relations, to have with them as little commercial connection as possible.

20. The United States departed from Washington's policy most significantly when we (1) fought Spain and acquired overseas territories in 1898; (2) signed the Treaty of Versailles and joined the League of Nations in 1919; (3) joined the United Nations in 1945 and entered into military alliances with other countries; (4) when we initiated a policy of detente with the People's Republic of China.

21. Thomas A. Bailey argues that America actually became a world power (1) when Commodore Dewey defeated the Spanish at Manila Bay in 1898; (2) when independence was declared in 1776; (3) when the French recognized our independence in 1780; (4) when Britain sought our cooperation in the Monroe Doctrine in 1823.

22. A major argument of the "irreconcilables" such as William E. Borah against the League of Nations was: (1) the over-representation of undeveloped nations in the League; (2) membership in the League would involve the United States in "entangling alliances" with the "Old World"; (3) membership in the League would compromise our existing treaty relationships with other countries; (4) the League had no real power to enforce its decisions on member nations.

23. Richard Hofstadter argues that in America the concern about subversive conspiracies which he calls the "paranoid style" in politics (1) emerged for the first time in the McCarthy era; (2) applied only to negotiable economic interests; (3) emerged when fundamental values appeared threatened; (4) is found only among ultra-rightists.

24. The War Powers Act of 1973 (1) reasserted Congress' control over the President's power to make war; (2) diluted Congress' control over the President's power to make war; (3) had no effect on the President's power to make war; (4) gave the President specific additional emergency war powers.

25. According to Betty Friedan, the "feminine mystique" (1) offered American women full and equal participation in society; (2) was a natural result of women's physical inferiority to men; (3) conditioned women to accept a passive role in society; (4) reflected the real capabilities and aspirations of American women.

26. The Colonial family (1) emphasized the duties family members owed to each other; (2) emphasized the right of family members to individual fulfillment;

(3) emphasized the central role of children in the family structure; (4) placed family members' happiness before religious commitment.

27. The story Jonathan Kozol tells in Death at an Early Age suggests that equal educational opportunity for minorities (1) has already been achieved in America; (2) can be achieved by increased funding alone; (3) can be achieved by school integration alone; (4) requires honest and culturally relevant curriculum materials.

28. Which of the following statements is true of contemporary American religious life? (1) all religious faiths are enjoying increased membership and active participation; (2) all religious faiths are declining in membership; (3) the major denominations are prospering; (4) conservative, evangelical sects are prospering.

29. In the kind of society David Riesman calls "other-directed" (1) individualism remains paramount; (2) the role of the consumer is of primary importance; (3) the social group plays a minor role; (4) autonomous personalities are in the majority.

30. Which of the following statements about opinions on American culture is false? (1) Henry James believed America's variety of peoples would prove to be a cultural disadvantage; (2) Randall Jarrell denounces "supermarket" culture; (3) Dwight MacDonald believes that "Masscult" and "Midcult" have overwhelmed High Culture; (4) Alvin Toffler argues that "culture consumption" and amateurism promise to improve American cultural life.

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COURSES BY NEWSPAPER

AMERICAN ISSUES FORUM II

"The Molding of American Values"

Final Examination Questions

KEY

1.	(3)	16.	(3)
2.	(2)	17.	(2)
3.	(4)	18.	(4)
4.	(2)	19.	(1)
5.	(1)	20.	(3)
6.	(3)	21.	(2)
7.	(3)	22.	(2)
8.	(2)	23.	(3)
9.	(3)	24.	(1)
10.	(1)	25.	(3)
11.	(3)	26.	(1)
12.	(3)	27.	(4)
13.	(3)	28.	(4)
14.	(4)	29.	(2)
15.	(1)	30.	(1)